THREE

SERMONS

PREACHED

In LENT and SUMMER *ASSIZES* last, at *Lancaster*; and on one of the Lords Days, In the late GUILD of *PRESTON*.

WHEREIN

The Nature of Subjection to the Civil Magistrate is Explained, the Duty Proved, and the Clergy Justified in pressing the same upon their Fellow-Subjects.

By *Thomas Gipps*, Rector of *Bury* in *Lancashire*, Chaplain to the Right Honourable the Earl of *Darby*, and sometimes Fellow of *Trinity Colledge* in *Cambridge*.

Principibus igitur nec est turpiter adulandum, nec Seditiosè repugnandum. Erasmi Paraph. in 1 Tim. 2. c.

Regum timendorum in proprios greges,
Reges in ipsos Imperium est Jovis.

LONDON,

Printed by *H. H.* for *Walter Kettilby*, at the *Bishop's Head* in St. *Paul's* Church-yard. 1683.

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A PREFACE TO THE READER.

IT may, perhaps, seem strange and presumptuous that such an obscure and inconsiderable Man as I should obtrude at once so many Sermons upon the World, and that too without sheltering them under the Name and Protection of some Person of Quality and Condition, since most Authors in all Ages have thought fit to do so, and many of the best in this Age, upon their Publication even of one single Discourse. The truth is, though I am not so vain as to think my self or these Papers above the reach of the Captious and Censorious, or that I stand in less need of the Countenance of some Eminent Person to recommend me, though I affect not to be singular, and to depart from any Laudable Custom: Yet there being some special Reasons moving me to Write, but withal forbidding me to prefix any Persons Name whatever, (which Reasons are not to be made Publick, but will possibly be guest at by such as know me and my present Circumstances) I am therefore forc'd to expose these Discourses, sine Titulo, sine Comite, *without engaging any Man that Glories in Titles, or any Familiar Friend to be their God-father. 'Tis confess'd, that as the Ear*

is not in these our days satisfied with Hearing, so neither is the Eye with Reading. The Pen and the Press has no more rest than the Tongue and the Pulpit: But if it be judged convenient to scratch the one, 'tis surely excusable to rub the other when it itches.

The Argument I treat of has born a considerable part on the Stage of our late Disorders, wherein many have already admirably acquitted themselves in the Defence of the Doctrine herein treated of, and upon that score these Endeavours of mine may possibly be look'd upon as less useful. I must therefore (besides what is already hinted) by way of Apology, say thus much for my self; That I am not led unto this Undertaking, as if I conceited my self to have hit upon any new thing, not yet taken Notice of in this inquisitive Age, or express'd it better, and to more Advantage than others before me have done. But besides the Honesty of my intentions in bearing Witness unto a Truth so important in these days, there seems to be some very good Reasons justifying this Attempt. I cannot learn that any in these Northern Parts, have of late Years appear'd in the Defence of the Government, and confirming the Doctrine of Subjection to the Civil Magistrate: And I Observe that the People hereabouts are not so diligent to enquire out, and furnish themselves with such Learned Treatises, as would truly inform them of their Duty. But when one of the Neighbourhood known to them is in Print, then the Maggot bites, then Curiosity, or Friendship, or Spight raises the whole Country, who make Hue and Cry after the Book, and will never be quiet till they have read it. By which means many may be brought to consider those Truths, which hitherto they have not known, or not duly weigh'd, or would not otherwise have re-collected. This I take to be a very Reasonable Vindication of my self and many

others

others in ſetting forth our Diſcourſes, which however needleſs they may be accounted to thoſe who know Men and Books, and where to find the ſame Argument more fully and accurately handled; yet thoſe Excellent Authors Works ſignifie as little to the generality here, as the Learned Sermons Preach'd in the City do to the Edification of the remote Countrey Congregations. But beſides this, ſince things are now brought to ſuch a paſs, that the Factious Party boaſt of their Numbers, and call the Loyal to a Poll; what they want in juſt weight and meaſure, is endeavoured to be made up by telling Noſes: It muſt be acknowledged not only Excuſable, but in ſome meaſure the Duty of every good Subject, eſpecially of a Clergy-man, upon all Occaſions to declare in behalf of the Prince, and of the Government, not concerning himſelf, whether he does it in that Excellency of Wiſdom as others have. His Suffrage is nevertheleſs as conſiderable in its ſelf, as the beſt. So that though I ſhould fail of my Principal Deſign (which is to bring over the Adverſaries of our preſent Peace and Eſtabliſhment unto the Obedience of Faith (ſo I may very well call Honouring and Obeying the Magiſtrates which is a Goſpel-Duty) yet this Point however I ſhall certainly gain, that I have aſſured the Higher Powers of one Vote, of my own ſteadineſs and fidelity; and ſhall now farther aſſure them of many more in theſe Northern Climates: Though I muſt acknowledge there are ſome Ill-contriv'd Politico's among us, who fear not confidently to affirm, that the People may call the King to Account for his Miſ-government: That is as much as to ſay, that they may once again Try him before an High Court of Juſtice, and then Murder him. This is that Jeſuitical, Pernicious Principle, that awakened me, and puſh'd me on to undertake this Enterprize. And I thought

thought my ſelf Obliged unto it, for Reaſons (as is ſaid before) not here to be diſcovered. Now, though the Clergy have learnt to ſit down patiently under ſome little wrongs, or rather miſtakes, as I would call them, in Tenderneſs and Honour to the beſt of Princes, (ex. gr. *What Man of common ſenſe can give account, why we, contrary to our Priviledge in* Magna Charta *unrepeal'd (as I am told) being look'd in, I know not how, to pay Taxes without the conſent of the Convocation, ſhould yet be excluded from Voting for Repreſentatives in Parliament? As if we had not as much Wiſdom and Integrity as the ſcum of the People, or the beſt of the Commonalty have, which I hope will in due time be taken into Conſideration.*) *Theſe Punctilio's, I ſay, we eaſily and quietly let paſs: But to be revil'd (as we are) for urging the Doctrine of Subjection, of fearing the King, and not meddling with thoſe that are given to Change, is moſt injurious and inſufferable. Surely we may pretend to this, as of Common Right belonging to us, being equally concerned with the reſt of our Fellow-Subjects in the well-fare of the Nation. But much more, ſince it is one part of our Miniſterial Office, to perſwade*

1 Cor. 7. 20. *Men that they* abide in the ſame Calling wherein they are called. *We are indeed often told, that this is not to Preach Jeſus Chriſt, and him Crucified; whereas I make no Queſtion, but that he who Teaches any Chriſtian Duty, does the work of an Evangeliſt, Preaches Jeſus Chriſt, and him Crucified. Time was, when they only*

Exod. 32. 2. *were taken for Soul-ſaving Preachers, who* (as Aaron *perſwaded the* Iſraelites *to* break off the Golden Earrings, which were in the Ears of their Wives, of their Sons, and of their Daughters) *had a dextrous way of wheadling their Diſciples to fling their Silver Thimbles and Bodkins into the Fire of our Civil Contentions:*

From

From whence came out two Molten Calves; Slavery dreſt up in the Habit of Liberty and Property; and Hypocriſie, lurking under the Diſguiſe of Conſcience and Religion. Unto theſe two Idols were the People forc'd to fall down and Worſhip. It was the ſame time, when they only were eſteemed Goſpel-Teachers, who went to Market for the Subject of their Sabboth-Sermons (as the *Diſſenters moſt Judaically, but Ignorantly call the Lords Day,*) *who took their Texts out of the Diurnals, and by the help of ſome Paſſages of Holy Scripture miſ-applyed and Profanely abuſed, brought forth juſt ſuch another Monſter, as* Mahomet *did out of the Law and the Goſpel,* ſcil. *A Bloody and Tyrannical Government, and an Ill-favour'd Religion, which the Church of God never before ſaw. In fine, they only were acknowledged the Faithful Diſpenſers of the Word, who were Trumpeters of Sedition, and turn'd this Kingdom into War and Blood, and Confuſion, and Anarchy; a Work as Diametrically Oppoſite to the Office of a Miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt, and to the Nature of the Goſpel, as Light is to Darkneſs. But we, ſilly Wretches as we are, who Inſtruct the People unto Modeſty, and Patient Submiſſion unto the Higher Powers* (as our Lord *and his Apoſtles did*) *to reſt content with that form of Government, under which they are born and bred, muſt needs be repreſented as a ſort of Men, that know not, or will not Preach Chriſt, and the Faith of Chriſt, although we ſpeak no other things, than what the Law, and the Prophets, and the Scriptures of the New Teſtament have ſaid before us, and enjoyned us to Preach; even ſuch things, which being indeed to the Diſſenters a ſtumbling-block, and to the Factious Politician Fooliſhneſs; but I am fully perſwaded, if carefully learnt, and Conſcientiouſly practiſed, will accompany Salvation.*

For

For my own part, I desire no fairer play, as to the Subject, though not as to the Management of these Sermons, than that what I have here wrote may be Impartially scann'd; and as it shall be found to savour of the Gospel-Spirit, let my Character and Entertainment be accordingly; which is all (Courteous Reader) and what I may justly expect from thee.

Thomas Gipps.

Sermon

Sermon I.

Rom. 13. Ver. 1.

Let every Soul be ſubject to the Higher Powers, for there is no Power but of God; the Powers that be are Ordained of God.

THERE is nothing under the Sun, but is lyable to Alteration, the beſt and pureſt things ordinarily in the Change degenerating into the filthyeſt and moſt unſavoury. This Obſervation holds good in Morals as well as Naturals; and even the Revelations of God himſelf, when abus'd to looſe and ambitious Ends, when corrupted by the falſe gloſſes of deceitful Men, prove moſt deſtructive to the Peace and Welfare of the World. Hence it comes to paſs, that W rs Commenced upon the Account of Religion, and carried on under pretence of Conſcience, have evermore been the bloodyeſt, ſeldom or never ceaſing, but in the utter Ruine of one ſide.

2. And for the ſame Reaſon Diſobedience to Authority, and Rebellion againſt the Prince, when

grounded on the miſtaken Doctrines of the Goſpel, are uſually found moſt Obſtinate, the Plague of the Common-wealth, and an incurable Diſeaſe.

When Conſcience, under a miſtake, leads the Van, no Projects of Peace will pleaſe, but what ſhe approves of: When the Glory of God is writ upon the Banners, no Conditions are hearkened to, but what ſhe propounds. When the Defence of the Goſpel is taken up in Oppoſition to the Civil Magiſtrate, no terms of Agreement will be accepted, unleſs every point be gain'd exactly Conform to that Enthuſiaſtical Model, to thoſe conceited Schemes of Divine Worſhip, which every Zealous Bigot lays down for the undoubted Law of the Goſpel.

Conſcience is the moſt Formidable Invader of the Rights and Properties of the Subject, of the Power and Soveraignty of the Supream Magiſtrate: And when ſhe gives the Signal to Battel, the word is —— *Spare neither great, nor ſmall*: Neither Prince nor People, neither things Sacred nor Profane eſcape her Fury; but all lye proſtrate, and truckle to her Arbitrary Commandment. Whilſt there are any left to make Head againſt her, ſhe will never put up her Sword; her very Mercies are Cruel: She will never give over the purſuit, till glutted with the Blood of her Adverſaries, her ſelf burſts aſunder into Faction, Hereſie, and the moſt Irreligious Separations. When the Number of ſuch as have been Slaughtered in an Holy War ſhall be reckon'd up, it will poſſibly be found, that Intereſt, and Paſſion, and Revenge, and Civil Faction *have ſlain their Thouſands*, but *Conſcience her Ten Thouſands*.

How this comes to paſs, is not difficult to diſcern. An Opinion of our own Holineſs begets in us Spiritual Pride,

Pride, or rather Fleſhly Wiſdom and Confidence. Obedience to God is a moſt Powerful Motive puſhing us on unto the moſt dangerous and deſperate Enterprizes. The Propagation of the Kingdom of Chriſt oft-times makes us forget our ſelves, to over-look the means, and to think that the Goodneſs, or Innocence of our Deſign is ſufficient to Sanctifie the Villany, and to Juſtifie the undertakers. To Defend the Purity of the Goſpel is thought (as indeed it is if rightly manag'd) a Glorious work, it appearing to moſt of us the greateſt inſtance of gratitude we can return to God, namely, to advance the Excellent Glory of the Divine Nature. Beſides the Converſion of Men, yea, even the compelling them by force to renounce their Errors, and to embrace the Truths of the Goſpel, ſeems at firſt bluſh, a Noble and Heroick piece of Chriſtian Charity, worthy the Zeal and Pains of every one to effect as well in his Enemy as Friend.

Upon theſe general, but for the moſt part miſapply'd Principles, many Ignorant Conſciences full of Zeal and ſudden flaſhes of Spiritual Light, like *Paul* in his Journey to *Damaſcus*, are indeed ſtruck blind with the abundance of Revelation and Knowledge (falſly ſo called:) And from thence forward know not, neither care, nor will give themſelves leave to conſider what courſe they are taking for the compaſſing theſe great Ends; neither will ſuffer others to take them by the Hand, and Conduct them to the Infallible Oracles of God, where they may underſtand what it is which God would have them do, ſatisfying themſelves with the uprightneſs of their remote intentions, but winking at the Iniquity of the means purſuant thereto: Although it is an Eternal Rule of right Reaſon, and an unque-

ſtionable Maxim of our Holy Religion, *That we muſt not do evil that good may come.*

4. Conſcience in this caſe (which is but an irregular Paſſion, and may rather be called Self-conceit, or ſullen Perſwaſion) becomes a moſt daring Champion, and that Cauſe is moſt likely to ſucceed wherein ſhe is ſworn of the Counſel, or made uſe of in the Execution. Hence both Ambitious Princes, and Rebellious Subjects in their Foreign Invaſions, or Civil Wars ſtill either in pretence or Truth, have Painted Conſcience and the Glory of God on their Enſigns; thinking it ſufficient to Excuſe their outrages with the pretext of Godlineſs. Some of you I know have read of the Holy War, carried on by the blind Zeal of Chriſtendom againſt the *Saracens*; ſome have heard of the Holy League in *France*; many of you of the *Spaniards* Invincible *Armado*, Equip'd at the Requeſt of his Holineſs, for the Propagation of the Faith; moſt of you are ſenſible that there was lately a Solemn League and Covenant ſet up in this Kingdom, for the Glory of God; and we are at this day freſhly Alarm'd with the Report of an Aſſociation. Theſe Proceedings are not to be wondred at, ſince Religion hath ever by Experience been found firſt lyable to be deprav'd by ill Men, then to be made a ſtalking Horſe for the carrying on the moſt Impious Enterprizes. Our Lord himſelf fore-told as much, and this Myſtery of Iniquity began to work in the Children of Diſobedience at the very dawning of Chriſtianity. The firſt Hereticks and Schiſmaticks that ſprung up in the Church, Men that boaſted of their Knowledge of the Divine Will, as much as any among us ever did, arrogating to themſelves the Name of *Gnoſticks* (*i. e.*) (as the word imports) Knowing Men, who (as they thought) were fully acquainted

acquainted with the Doctrine of God: Yet among many other freakiſh Opinions, deny'd Subjection due to the Magiſtrate, and are deſcrib'd as ſuch by St. *Jude* — *Filthy Dreamers, who defile the Fleſh, deſpiſe Dominion, and ſpeak evil of Dignities.* Ver. 8.

5. The Chriſtian Religion *is firſt pure, and then peaceable*, as St. *James* teacheth us; intimating that the Purity of it being firſt loſt, or renounc'd, nothing but Confuſion and Diſorder can be expected to follow; from whence it has often come to paſs, that Men of Corrupt Minds, perverſe Sons of *Belial* have ſet up Religion to countenance their Rebellion; and Chriſtianity hath been frequently drawn in to bear a part in the moſt Bloody Tragedies that ever were Acted upon the Stage of the World. Thus it hath been from the beginning, and will continue thus to be, notwithſtanding our Bleſſed Lord and his Holy Apoſtles took the greateſt care imaginable, both by Example and Doctrine to prevent theſe Miſchiefs. St. *Paul*, among the reſt, intending in theſe words now read, either firſt (as ſome imagine) to overthrow that Rebellious Principle of the *Gnoſticks*, juſt now mentioned, *Deſpiſing Dominion, and ſpeaking evil of Dignities*, and to prevent its further growth among the new Converts at *Rome*. Or, Secondly, as *Grotius* conjectures to obviate that plauſible Argument, which the *Jewiſh* Chriſtians might poſſibly be ready to draw from that paſſage of *Moſes* (viz.) *Thou ſhalt in any wiſe ſet him King over thee, whom the Lord thy God ſhall chuſe, one from among thy Brethren ſhalt thou ſet King over thee, thou mayeſt not ſet a ſtranger over thee which is not thy Brother*; from whence they might gather, that the Emperour being not their Brother, not of the Seed of *Jacob*, but a Stranger, they were not obliged to Obey him. James 3. 17. Deut. 17. 15.

him. Or, Thirdly, as ſome think, to let the *Roman* Chriſtians rightly underſtand his Doctrine and their own Duty, namely, that what he had before in this Epiſtle delivered concerning Chriſtian Liberty, was not to be ſtretch'd ſo far, as to excuſe their Subjection to the Temporal Magiſtrate. Upon ſome one or more of theſe Accounts the Apoſtle reads them their Leſſon, here in the Text; of which I ſhall give you the Explication, and thence fully ſet forth the Nature of Subjection, which is all I aim at, at this time.

6. The Grammatical form of the words is Imperative, ὑποτασσέσθω and by Conſequence the words are Præceptive, importing a Duty properly ſo called, unto which we are indiſpenſably Oblig'd, and which the Apoſtle more peremptorily preſſes in the 5*th*. Verſe following, *Wherefore ye muſt needs be ſubject*, there is a Neceſſity laid upon you all. The *Romiſh* Divines tell us that this is only Prudential Advice, ſuited to the preſent Condition of the Chriſtians, who were then few and poor, and unable to make reſiſtance; therefore was it unſeaſonable for them to exaſperate the Emperour, but their Intereſt rather and Wiſdom to ſit down patiently under Perſecution, waiting a more favourable time of aſſerting their Civil Rights, and Liberty of Conſcience, and of pulling down that Cruel and Arbitrary Government of *Nero*.

This Gap was firſt opened by the Papiſts, through which, many, even Proteſtants in Profeſſion, have entred into the Field of Rebellion, chooſing rather to become Companions with thoſe unruly Beaſts in the Tranſgreſſion, than to be confin'd within the compaſs of Sobriety, and the Peaceable Principles of the true Chriſtian Philoſophy.

But

But what (I pray ye) is or can be the meaning of those words, *Ye must needs be subject? Not only for Wrath*, or fear of Punishment, that is indeed a Prudential Motive fit for every reasonable Man to consider for his Worldly Interest; *but also for Conscience* Ver. 5. *sake*, that's without Question a Divine Evangelical one, fit for every Christian to weigh in order to his Spiritual Interest: *Conscience* (I say) *towards God*, not for his own sake only, but, as St. *Peter* implies, for the Lords sake, in Honour and Obedience to the Law of God.

Let *every* Soul. No Mortal Man is exempted; neither Bishop, nor Priest, nor Subordinate Magistrate, nor five hundred Princes of the Congregation, Men of Renown Assembled; no, nor all the People of the Land Combin'd and Associated together, can hold themselves excused.

Every *Soul.* This Expression is borrowed from the *Jewish* Writers, with whom it is very familiar to call Man *Soul*, as indeed 'tis not an unusual Idiom in our own Language, that being a principal part Synechdochically put for the Man himself: So that when St. *Paul* says, *Let every Soul*, 'tis equivalent as if he should have said, *Let every Man*, or rather, if we would render it to the full, *Let every living Man.* For so much the word ψυχὴ denotes, which most commonly in Scripture Language signifies the Life, the Animal Life, that Life which is common to him with the brute Beasts; or else the Life relating to our Natural and Temporal Concerns. Whence St. *Paul* opposes ψυχικὸν, 1 Cor. 2. 14, *the Natural Man*, to πνευματικῷ, *to the Spiritual Man.* 15. From whence I draw this Conclusion, that every true and sincere Disciple of Christ, although he may and ought to preserve his Reasonable Soul, his Conscience pure

pure and unspotted from Actual Complyance with the sinful Commands of his Superiours (Conscience and the Rational Soul, and Spiritual things are not in their Nature capable of being subjected to the external Power of a Prince,) yet the ψυχὴ, the Animal Life, all Temporal Civil Affairs being by God committed to the Supream Magistrate, we ought in all those respects to be Subject to the Will and Governance of the Prince.

By the *Higher Powers* (ὑπερεχούσαις) the Abstract, is nevertheless meant the Concrete, the Person of the Supream Magistrate; he to whom the Government of the Common-wealth is entrusted, and the Execution of the Law belongs. So St. *Paul* expounds himself, backing this Precept with several Reasons, *ver.* 3. *for Rulers*, οἱ ἄρχοντες, ver. 4. *For he is the Minister of God* (διάκονος) *he beareth not the Sword in vain: He is* ἔκδικος *a Revenger.* All which passages clear the Apostles meaning, that he treats not of the Supream Authority separate from the Person of the Prince; but the Prince himself in Possession of the Supream Power. This I the rather take notice of, because there are a sort of Critical, Pedantical Politicians, that distinguish betwixt the Government and the Governour; between the Laws of the Common-wealth and the Kings Person. Government they are for, and willing to be Subject to it; the Law they cry up, and none more Zealous than they for the execution of Justice: But as for the Person of the Prince, how rudely do they treat him? How little do they Honour him? Making him a King of Clouts rather than what indeed he is, *the Minister*, *the Ordinance of God.* What else means so many Hedge-creepers among us, pulling down the Fences of Obedience to the Magistrate, and the fat Bulls of *Basan* enclosing him in on every side? What

else

else means that Malicious Raillery, and those abusive Pasquils sent forth for the wounding his Honour? And some have had the Confidence to threaten a Writ of *Quo Warranto* against his Authority.

By Power (if you will admit St. *Paul* to expound his own meaning) is to be understood not the Majesty of the Government, but the Majesty of the King, whose Person is Divine (being Ordained by God) whose Honour is Sacred and inviolate. And for a further Confirmation of this Exposition, you may please to remember, that ἐξουσία. *Power* is in this sense us'd by our Lord himself— *When they bring you unto Synagogues, and unto Magistrates, and unto Powers,* ἐξουσίας, says St. *Luke*; which St. *Matthew* expresses more simply, ἡγεμόνας καὶ Βασιλεῖς *Kings and Governours*, or Emperours. Luke 12. 11. Mat. 10. 18.

The Learned well know that *Magistratus* and *Potestas*, and *Majestas* are frequently put for the Prince himself in all sort of Writers; and nothing is more common than to call Persons by the Abstract, denoting some Property in special manner belonging to them. Thus we style a Notorious Malefactor, Villany it self, Villany in the Abstract, which some express in a more Comical way, a Rogue in grain, (*i. e.*) one who like Cloath dyed with Scarlet, has imbib'd the Principles of Naughtiness as a durable and inseparable Property. In like manner, to an Inferiour Magistrate we Address *Your Worship*; to a Peer of the Realm, *Your Honour*; to a General of an Army, *Your Excellency*; to one of the Blood Royal, *Your Highness*; to a Prince, *Your Grace*, *Your Majesty*. Thus *Jacob*, speaking to *Reuben* (to whom by Natural Right of Descent belong'd the Supream Power) *Thou art my First-born, my Might, and the Beginning of my Strength, the Excellency of Dignity, and the Excellency of Power.* And to make an end of this Observation, God himself Vid. *Seld.* Tit. Hon. Gen. 49. 3.

is often called Wisdom, and Holiness, Righteousness, and Truth it self.

Now, as it would be thought an high Act of presumption and Atheism for any Man to distinguish betwixt the Person of God and his Essential Attributes, (that is) to pretend to be subject to the Wisdom, Holiness, Righteousness, and Truth of Divine Grace and Providence; and in the mean time to Blaspheme the Person of God: Just such another piece of Hypocrisie and empty Loyalty are they guilty of, who profess to Obey the Law, and to submit to the Government; but Murder, or Persecute, or Vilifie the Prince, in whom the Government rests as an Inherent Property, and the execution of the Law appertains, as his unquestionable Right and Prerogative; by whose Wisdom and Authority Justice is distributed to the People of the Land, as Light and Heat is by the Sun to the whole World. But, as the *Spaniards* living under the scorching heat of that Planet, are said to curse it at the approach of Summer; so is it many times with an unthankful and wanton People, enjoying too much Ease, Peace, and Plenty, through the abundant Grace and Goodness of a King, 'tis familiar with them to fly in his Face, and lift up the heel against him, that has made them thus Happy.

But to proceed: Let every Soul *be subject*, [illegible] 'tis Passive: Whence we learn, that it is not in our own Liberty to subject our selves when, or as long as we please, nor on what Terms and Conditions we think fit to stand, nor on whom we pretend to devolve the Government and Succession. It's not in our Power to pull down one, and set up another: That's the Prerogative of God, *by whom Kings Reign*. It's not for us Violently and Clamourously to alter the Frame of Government already Established; but a modest and sincere

cere Christian is to take it as he finds it. Outward Force, yea, Obstinate Petitions, and Importunate Addresses, when the State is in a Commotion, and the Prince under some disadvantages, becomes not one, who is of a tender Conscience; but smells rankly of Disobedience and Rebellion. If it had been the mind of God, and the sense of the Apostle, to permit these things to our Deliberation, the words rather should thus have run, ὑποταιπέτω σεαυτὸν — Let every Soul subject himself. Government only in general would have been Ordained, but the Specification of it, and the Choice of the Governours left to the Peoples Suffrage and Election. But he is to be subjected because it is his Duty so to be Antecedent to his own Will and Choice: Because it is the appointment of one, who is Higher than either King or Subject; because it is the Ordinance of God: Of which more by and by.

If it be ask'd, What is the extent of our Subjection, and unto what Acts of Obedience are we hereby Oblig'd? I Answer, First, Positively, to acknowledge him the *Ordinance of God*; to *render Tribute, and Custom, and Fear, and Honour* unto him, as it follows in the Apostles Discourse after my Text; to preserve his Person from outward Violence and secret Conspiracies, to own his Rights and Prerogatives; yea, *to Love and Reverence him.* Or else thus, Secondly, Negatively, not to *resist him*, not to Wound his Honour with Reproaches and Back-bitings, not to give him any just Offence, not to do or say any thing which may render him Odious to his People, or Contemptible to his Neighbours; not to discover his Infirmities, nor to aggravate his Faults, nor to blaze abroad his Mistakes. All which being a weakening of his Government, a lessening of his Interest and Authority over the Hearts of his People, is no less than Disloyalty by

Ver. 2.
Ver. 7.
Ver. 8.
Ver. 2.

Conſequence, and in its tendency, a Robbing him of his Crown and Dignity.

Which of you would endure your Children, or your Servants to ſlander or beſpatter you with Lyes, or to Publiſh the Secrets of your Families, or to expoſe you for any weakneſs or ill Conduct in your Domeſtick Affairs? What the *Pater familias* is in the Oeconomy of the Houſe, the ſame is *Pater Patriæ* in the Polity of the State. To uncover the Nakedneſs of the Father of thy Countrey is inconſiſtent with all thoſe foreſaid Duties of Fearing and Honouring him, no leſs a violation of this Duty, than that of *Canaan*'s was. Eccleſ. 10. 12. Therefore ſays the Preacher, *Curſe not the King, no, not in thy Thoughts*, much leſs not by open Calumny, or more ſly detraction, for 'tis written, *Thou ſhalt not* Acts 3. 5. *ſpeak evil of the Ruler of thy People.*

I ſhall crave leave to go yet a little further on this Argument. 'Tis not enough to pay the Tribute, when required by a formal Law; but you are bound (*in Conſcience at leaſt*) to aſſiſt his and the Publick Neceſſities at other times; otherwiſe I underſtand not how you can be ſaid to Reverence and Honour the King: God and the King both no doubt love and require *a chearful Giver*. Thoſe who in words profeſs to love the Prince, but will neither ſupply his wants, nor ſuffer others ſo to do, are like thoſe Charitable Chriſtians St. *James* mentions, who, when *a Brother or Siſter* Chap. 2. Ver. 15, 16. *was Naked and deſtitute of daily Food*, ſaid unto him, *Be thou warmed and filled, notwithſtanding gave them not thoſe things which were needful.* Thoſe who would have themſelves believed His Majeſties Loyal Subjects, and Declare they will ſtand by him with their Lives and Fortunes, Proſecuting him indeed with good wiſhes, but in the mean time ſtarving him out of his Throne:

That

That put the queſtion which *Nabal* did unto *Davids* Meſſengers—*Shall I take my Bread, and my Water, and my Fleſh that I have killed, and give it to I know not whom*, nor by what Authority, nor for what end demanded? *who is* David? *and who is the Son of* Jeſſe? are not theſe ſort of men in Scripture-language called *Wicked, Churliſh, evil doers, Fools, Railers, Sons of* Belial, *ſuch as requite evil for good*, (that is) give nothing for their Peace and Protection, which they enjoy through the Providence of the Prince; Should five hundred at once forbid you to ſupply the Supream Power, yet I muſt let you know, that the will of God cannot be diſpenſed with by the Law of Men; that (as our Lord reply'd to the *Phariſees*) the Kings Image and Superſcription, being on their Gold and Silver, you are to *render unto* Cæſar *the things that are* Cæſar's; and in a word, that what Chriſtian Charity, and common Humanity, binds you to, in the relief of your Neighbour, Evangelical Loyalty, and the Fundamental reaſon of Government obliges you to, in the ſupply of your Prince.

1 Sam. 25. 10, 11.

v. 3, 14, 17, 21, 25.

Hitherto we have explained the nature of the Duty, we proceed unto the Reaſon of it, in the latter part of the Text.—*for there is no power but of God*, &c. I ſhall eaſily give it for Granted, that a Prince may be an Uſurper, and a Lawful King may turn Tyrant, that neither of them can be accquitted hereof at the Tribunal of God, where they muſt account for both: But ſtill upon Earth among us men, even the Uſurper is of God, and the Oppreſſour is the Ordinance of God: *for there is no Power* whatever, though Uſurpt, though Tyrannical, *but is by divine Ordination.* St. *Paul* makes no exception unto this general rule. He might poſſibly at that time of day, have alledg'd both Uſur-

Usurpation and Oppression, against the present Powers. There was possibly sufficient reason (if any could be) to declaim and make publick Harangues against Grievances, and the Emperors personal crimes and expensive Debaucheries; which were beyond measure notorious; such as must needs drain the Exchequer, and whereon the Revenue of the Common-wealth was misimploy'd. There was not wanting plausible pleas against Monarchy it self in the *Roman* State, (which was a Common-wealth from the beginning even in *Romulus* time, in the opinion of a late Author) at least in behalf of the Peoples right in chooſing their own Supream Magistrate, as no doubt it was, and had so continued long by the Original frame of the *Roman* Government. But this is certain Aristocracy or Democracy, or a mixture of both, had for many Ages been own'd and received by all ranks and degrees of men, as the true and undoubted Government, until very lately by the Usurpation of the *Cæsar*'s, a single person having mounted the Steed, and setled himself in the Saddle, rid and spur-gall'd the Beast, the common People almost to death. Thus much might have then been with truth argued, against the Emperors Government, but still for all this the Powers then in being *were of God*, had a lawful, yea divine Authority over the People, in the Judgment of St. *Paul*.

Plut. red.

Ἐξουσίαι the word here rendred *Powers*, properly signifies lawful Authority; such as have a just right of exercising dominon over the People. I shall allow, if you please, as before I intimated, that the Emperour was not strictly and in every respect, Ἐξουσία *a lawful Governour*, not in *foro Conscientiæ*, not in *foro Cœli*; for he had no true Natural or Civil Right to the Throne, antecedent to his Usurpation, nor has or can any Prince

Prince have and exerciſe a Deſpotical Power over the Subject (as did *Nero*) but he ſins againſt the Law of Nature or of God. I ſhall therefore allow, that he was only in thoſe regards δύναμις, (i. e.) one that had got the long Sword in his hand, and by force ſubjected the *Romans* unto his will and power, againſt the known Law, againſt the Will, and againſt the Intreſt of the *Roman* People. Yet this notwithſtanding I muſt acquaint you, that by the doctrine of the Scriptures, in reſpect of the People, after God has once declared his allowance of him by the ſucceſs, δύναμις a Violent and originally Unjuſt Power may become ἐξουσία a Legal and Righteous Authority: unto whom the People of the Land, at leaſt the People of God, muſt of neceſſity be Subject, and are bound in Conſcience to yield Obedience; they having no inherent right in them nor permiſſion from God to queſtion his Title, or to throw off the Yoke of Subjection, though he attain'd the Empire by force, though he maintains it by the Sword, though he adminiſters it with Violence, Injuſtice and Avarice, yet he is ἐξουσία, his Authority is lookt upon as derived from God, to have receiv'd the divine ſtamp and approbation, ſo far at leaſt as to require the Chriſtians humble and peaceable ſubmiſſion thereunto; which being a matter of no ſmall difficulty rightly to ſtate, I may poſſibly take occaſion hereafter, more diſtinctly and fully to diſcuſs.

'Tis true, St. *Paul* ſeems as if he diſcours'd of ſome incomparable Prince, whilſt he deſcribes him as executing Judgment and Juſtice, for the benefit of the Subject, without wrong or oppreſſion of the Innocent, for, ſays he—*Rulers are not a terror to good Works, but to the Evil: do that which is good and thou ſhalt have praiſe of the ſame. He is the Miniſter of God to thee for good,* c. 13. v. 3. 4.

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he is a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil. *Plato* himſelf were he now alive again (as they ſay he is lately riſen, and has attempted the reformation of our preſent diſorders) could not give us a more noble and apt Character of a Prince.

However, neither will this pretence ſerve the turn of our Common-wealths-men, for if you will but conſider thoſe forementioned paſſages *in Hypotheſi* as well as *Theſi*: if you will remember who was then the higher Power at *Rome* when St. *Paul* wrote this Epiſtle, namely *Nero*, one of the moſt cruel impious and debaucht Princes, that ever ſway'd Scepter, you will not then think that the Apoſtle here ſpeaks ſtrictly of ſome great and Heroick Prince then in being, (for *Nero* was not ſuch an one) nor that the Precept is laid down as only obligatory, when the Prince happens to be *a terror unto evil doers*, and *a praiſe unto them that do well.* We muſt then ſeek for Another ſenſe of thoſe words, which I conceive is this.

The Apoſtle in this deſcription, lays down one eſpecial reaſon and ground of Subjection, fetch't from the benefit generally redounding to the People thereby, and this with peculiar relation even to *Nero* himſelf, the Emperor of *Rome*; though one of the worſt upon record in Hiſtory. He intimates that no Prince, no not *Nero* himſelf, ('tis morally impoſſible, generally ſpeaking) can be ſo ſou'r and rigid towards the People, but that a modeſt and humble minded Subject may hope for more advantages under his Government than by tumult and Rebellion; that as all Rulers in general, and *in Theſi*, ſo was *Nero* in particular, and *in Hypotheſi*, to be accounted a terror to wicked doers, and a Miniſter of God for the good of the People: that therefore, if the Chriſtian *Romans* would

but

but truly consult their own Interest, and would not be afraid of his Power, nor fall under the lash of his severity, they should live quietly and innocently, not exasperating him by any indecent words or tumultuous behaviour; and that then they might more probably expect Praise and Protection from him, and be more likely to obtain those temporal blessings, than by reproaching his Person, forming Conspiracies, and blowing up the Trumpet of Sedition against him.

This I take to be the Sum of the Apostles Doctrine and Argument, as I have explicated it, and am pretty confident agreeably to the mind of God, to the Apostles drift in this place, and to the unanimous Opinion and Practice of the Primitive Saints. Which that you may after this large explanation, remember and distinctly comprehend, I shall reduce it into this short Proposition, (*viz.*) *That it is the duty of every man, every Christian, to love, honour, to reverence and obey, and with their substance to support the Person of the Supream Magistrate, and this in Conscience towards God, as well as in order to his own temporal Interest.*

Now though this be plain and obvious, yet in these unhappy days; men are and will be otherwise minded, their heads begin to turn round again, so tender of their own personal Rights and Properties, that like the Sensitive Plant, do but touch them, they Shrink, as if Wounded to death: or, as untoward Children, when disciplin'd for their faults, cry out Murder, and make hideous Complaints of Tyranny, Arbritrary Government, and Oppression. The rights of the People are of late so swell'd, their Properties so enlarg'd, their Liberties so extended, that the Body Politick may not unfitly be resembled to those Crooked men, whom in abuse we call Lords, whose Heads are almost Shrunk down into their Breasts, and become in a

manner inviſible, at leaſt-wiſe, whoſe ſhape by that unnatural approach appears Monſtrous and Deformed. If the Head of the Common-wealth riſes not at a due diſtance above the Body of the People, there is neither Form nor Comlineſs in that Government; yea, and for the moſt part (as in the ſaid ſimilitude) the Conſtitution thereof proves Crazy, and the Life ſhort.

The Supream Magiſtrate is now endeavour'd to be coopt up, and as it were Beſieged with thoſe fore-ſaid Pretences: So that he cannot turn himſelf round in his own Orb, without the Offence of ſome peeviſh Libertine; nor can make one ſtep forward in the exerciſe of Government, but is accuſed to Treſpaſs upon the Property of ſome waſpiſh Common-wealths-man, and to trample upon the heel of ſome Free-born Subject. So that indeed the Princes Perſon, his Honour, his Liberty and Property (*i.e.*) his Royalties and Prerogatives are in danger to be wreſted from him by Force and Craft, and the unwearied Clamours of unreaſonable and unſatiable Men.

I ſhould now, had I time, and were it fit for me to intrench upon the Patience of this Honourable Audience, or to Treſpaſs upon the Publick Buſineſs of the Countrey, examine the Grounds, and the pretended Reaſons of all this: For otherwiſe I muſt declare, that I am nothing terrified from this Task by the ſcornful Abuſes of thoſe late Demagogues, who in their Pamphlets are pleaſed to call us Miniſters Sycophants, and Publickly to Indict us of Flattery, becauſe we Preach Obedience to the King, and as much as in us lies in our Places, and according to our Abilities, withſtand the alteration of Government. For my ſelf, I muſt declare, and I am ſure no Man knows my Heart better than my ſelf, nor therefore can in Charity contradict me:

I ſay then, I wiſh (were not the thing impoſſible, and therefore in vain to wiſh, otherwiſe I could wiſh) that we were once again in Paradiſe, in the ſtate of Innocence and Perfection, that there were no need of Government or Governours; at leaſt, that we were all ſo good and virtuous, as to deſerve that Liberty ſome Men gape after; that thoſe eſpecially had their Freedom, who could ſo uſe it, as not to abuſe it for *a Cloak of Maliciouſneſs*. But ſince this is not to be expected from the far greateſt part of Mankind, ſince the World is, and ever will be full of Offences, peſtered with the Exceſſes and Diſorders of unruly Men: Since therefore it is the Intereſt of all good Men that Government ſhould be maintained, and Governours Honoured and Obeyed; ſince the Law was made for a Curb to the Sinner, and not for a Puniſhment to the Righteous; ſince the Wiſdom and Goodneſs of God has therefore Ordained all of us unto Subjection to Magiſtrates, and made it our indiſpenſable Duty, yea, our Intereſt and Security ſo to be: And in particular, ſince we Preachers of the Goſpel are Commanded to *put you in mind that ye be ſubject to Principalities and Powers, and that ye Obey Magiſtrates*. Titus 3. 1. I make no more Account of theſe ſpightful Inſinuations, than I would of the Drunkards Songs, or the Atheiſts Witticiſms, that are ſo plentifully in theſe days exercis'd upon us, for no other Reaſon that I know of, but *becauſe we tell them the Truth*. We are indeed by the more cunning part of the Enemies of the Government, in a cooler manner blamed for making Princes Gods, as if they immediately came down from Heaven, which looks like a piece of high Preſumption and Sacriledge. And 'tis true, we do ſo in ſome ſort, God himſelf having vouchſafed that Title of Honour to

them, and our Lord confirmed it. Beſides, St. *Paul*, in my Text, fetches them from Heaven, telling us, they are *of God*, or from God; that they are *Ordain'd of God*: I cannot paſs by obſerving on the other hand, how that God condeſcends alſo to aſſume the Titles of Earthly Governours; the word King, and Prince, Lord, and others of the like ſort, being frequently attributed to him in Holy Scripture. And whereas God by way of Excellence is ſtyled King of Kings; nevertheleſs the Prophet *Daniel* ſcrupled not to give the ſame Appellation unto *Nebuchadnezzar* alſo. So frivolous in my judgment is that Exception of a Learned Man againſt Soveraign Princes aſſuming Divine Titles. They are therefore called *Gods*, becauſe they reſemble God in Supream Power. And as Man is ſaid to have been Created in the Image and likeneſs of God, becauſe of his Dominion over the Creature, according to the Opinion of ſome Learned Men; ſo may the Prince be ſaid to bear the Image and likeneſs of God in a ſpecial manner, upon the Account of his Soveraignty over the People.

Dan. 2. 47. Ver. 17.

Mr. *Seld.* Tit. Hon.

Epiſcop.

In fine, there being you ſee ſo near an Affinity between God and the King, 'tis not to be wondred, that we make ſo great a difference between the Prince and the Subject: And in our Diſcourſes lay upon you the ſame burden of Reverence, Obedience, and Non-reſiſtance, as St. *Paul* before us has done, teaching no other Doctrine than what the Holy Ghoſt has warranted and Commanded us to Teach, *That ye be ſubject to the Higher Powers, which are of God, that they who reſiſt, reſiſt the Ordinance of God:* And oh! that ye would lay to Heart that terrible Puniſhment, which awaits all Rebellious and Diſobedient Subjects, *They that reſiſt, ſhall receive to themſelves Damnation.*

Ver. 2.

But

But after all is ſaid, the Grand Debate will be, How ſhall we be ſatisfied, who is this Higher Power among us, and in whom that Soveraignty reſts, to whom Subjection is due? Eſpecially in this mixt Monarchy, where not only the greateſt ſhare of the Property, but a conſiderable part of the Legiſlative Power is in the People? For Anſwer, I ſay, that this notwithſtanding, the King is the Higher Power, that Ordinance of God, in the Defence of whoſe Perſon and Authority this Diſcourſe is intended. Or do I ſay it only? Does not the Municipal Law of the Land ſay as much? And this is I am certain (I ſpeak it with ſomewhat more than ordinary Confidence) an Univerſal, an Infallible way of knowing the Supream Power in order to our Non-reſiſtance, according to the Doctrine of the Goſpel, (*viz.*) *He that beareth not the Sword in vain*, in whom alone the Military Power remains. He whoſe Perſon is inviolate, whoſe Life is Sacred, whoſe Power cannot be taken from him Legally without his conſent; who is Accountable to none but God for any Miſgovernment, (and theſe are His Majeſties Prerogatives, even by the Political Contract, the expreſs Statute-Law of the Realm) he is that Higher Power St. *Paul* ſpeaks, and I have been Diſcourſing of, if there be any ſuch thing as an Higher Power among us. Nay, I ſhall further add (though I will not poſitively affirm it, ſubmitting my ſelf herein to better Judgments) That Prince who is not reſponſible to the People, is in effect the ſole Soveraign Power, if he pleaſes to Uſurp and Exerciſe it: Nor can the Subject Conſcientiouſly reſiſt him. For I cannot apprehend that any reſiſtance can be Lawful in point of Conſcience, that is forbidden by the Poſitive Law of the Land, which is our Caſe in this Nation. Though the Prince may be culpable in

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the ſight of God for ſo doing, yet the Subjects cannot be Juſtified in Rebelling, when the Law has taken from them that Liberty and Power. Common Reaſon and Equity, the Law of Nature, and the Original of Government, and extream Neceſſity, will by no means Juſtifie ſuch violent Attempts upon the Supream Magiſtrate. It is one main ground of Political Government, to deprive the Subject from being his own Judge and Aſſertor of his own Priviledges. Without this Fundamental Principle, there will be only the Name and Shadow of Government, when as really 'tis but meer Anarchy. If the Subject might be permitted to fly in the Face of Authority, and to Aſſault him when ever he apprehends himſelf injur'd, we ſhould but be *Populus virorum*, an Independent Herd of Licentious and ungovernable Men; not *Corpus Politicum*, not a Compact Body of Citizens, United together in Peace, Order, and Subordination. But it is commonly Argued, Is not the Prince Oblig'd to Govern by Law, and if he tranſcends that Power, by Invading the Peoples Liberty and Property, are we bound to Obey him? I Anſwer, He is Oblig'd, but the Obligation is between God and his own Conſcience. God only is the Revenger of the Breach of the Coronation-Oath, though the Peoples Liberty and Property, and the Laws are the ſubject-matter of it. Secondly, I grant, that in the Caſe put, we are not bound to Obey him, but we are bound patiently to ſuffer, not actively to reſiſt. Thirdly, I am of Opinion, (but ſpeak it ſtill with Submiſſion) that the King being by all ſober, underſtanding Men, acknowledged the King of Right, before he gives the People that Aſſurance of his Governing by Law; that that Oath is therefore a voluntary Act of Grace, unto which he is not Oblig'd by the Funda-

Fundamental Conſtitution: For if ſo, he could not Exerciſe the Supream Governing Power before the Oath was taken; which yet neither he nor his Predeceſſors were ever thought uncapable to do.

Suppoſing then that the Prince would not give to the People this Aſſurance, I ask whether he is then Oblig'd to Govern ſtrictly by the preſent Law? 'Tis my Judgment, he is not Obliged. He ought indeed, the Law of God and Nature, and the firſt Reaſon of Government requires him to Rule with regard to the good of the Governed; yet that he is ſtrictly ty'd unto the particular Methods of Government, declared by the preſent Law of the Land, I can by no means allow. For the good of the Governed being the firſt Fundamental Principle directing him what Meaſures to take in the Exerciſe of Government, and as yet there being no other Obligation upon him, it is left to his Conſcience, Judgment, and Diſcretion, before that Oath, what Courſe to take in anſwering that great End of Government: And if any of the preſent un-repealed Laws ſhall be thought by him repugnant to the good of the Subject, or but Comparatively not ſo effectual thereunto, may he not, nay, is he not in Conſcience bound to lay down to himſelf ſome other Rules, in Order to that End? Fourthly, I might Anſwer, that ſeeing all Men look upon themſelves as freed from the punctual Obſervation of Poſitive Laws in the Caſe of extream Neceſſity (this equitable Liberty God himſelf allows, *I will have Mercy, and not Sacrifice*;) and our Municipal Law indemnifies the Subject, in many ſuch Caſes:) And ſeeing the Security the King gives to his Subjects is a Voluntary Act, but the Peoples to the King may be Exacted from them by Force, and by Law; I think there

there is much more Reaſon, that the King in Extremity may depart from the Letter of the Law, than that the People ſhould: And if the People may Appeal to Reaſon and Equity, to the Law of Nature, and the firſt Reaſon of Government in the Defence of their Priviledges, may not the Prince much more do the ſame in the Defence of his Prerogatives, and in the Exerciſe of his Dominion? And ſhall he be indiſpenſably Oblig'd by the Letter of the Law, in Governing, not allow'd to plead Nature and Equity, the Reaſon and Ends of Government, and extream Neceſſity? And yet the People be at their own Liberty in Arbitrarily Obeying as they ſhall Judge it Reaſonable and Agreeable to the Ends of Government? Some of theſe foreſaid Conſiderations (which I muſt repeat, are offered as Problems only, and with Submiſſion) or ſomething like them might, I imagine, be in the Mind of that Eminent Lawyer, Serjeant *Hale*, one of the Houſe of Commons in the 43*d.* Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, who ſpake there to this Effect. *I wonder* (ſays he) *that the Houſe ſtands either at the greatneſs or time of paying the Subſidies demanded, ſince all we have are in Her Majeſties Power; ſhe may Lawfully at her Pleaſure take it from us, ſhe has as much Right to all our Land, as to any Revenue of the Crown: All which* (ſaith he) *I am able and ready to prove.* Thus far he: But I ſhall not preſume to go ſo high, nor will it be expected from me to proceed farther upon this tickle Subject: Only I do not find that he was called to the Bar, nor Reprimanded as a Pander to Tyranny, as opening a Paſſage to Arbitrary Government, for his plain dealing, and freedom of Speech. But this I ſhall ſay, that this one Speech of that Gentleman exceeds all that has of late been ſaid

or done (as far as I can learn) for the ſetting up an Abſolute and Deſpotical Soveraignty: And yet it paſſed then without noiſe, or giving any Offence, or creating Jealouſies and Fears in the Hearts of the People againſt the Government.

Yet one word more: When I re-collect, how Judge *Cook* (the Oracle of the Law, as ſome of his Admirers are pleaſed to call him, no Prerogative Lawyer, as all agree) aſſures us, that the firſt Kings of this Realm had the whole Land in Demeſn, and therefore (upon the Principle now on foot, *That Dominion is Founded on Property*) undoubtedly Abſolute Soveraigns: I cannot but in two words expoſtulate with the Underminers of our preſent Eſtabliſhment, Where is your Ingenuity? O ungrateful People of the Land! to treat your Princes ſo rudely, ſo unworthily; to Vilifie their Perſons, to Invade their Prerogatives, and through unwearied Clamours and Importunate Complaints, to extort from their Crown the few remaining Flowers of the Regality: Like Vipers, to bite them, who have Nouriſhed you in their Boſom, and, as it were, almoſt pulled out their own Eyes for your ſakes. You, who have waxen fat through their Gifts and Conceſſions, who are grown thick by their Indulgence and Liberality; to forſake them that have made you, and to lift up your Heels againſt them that have thus dearly treated you? Oh, Monſtrous Ingratitude! Them, that have given you all the Liberty and Property you can Legally pretend to, under whom you have enjoyed both, as fully as Heart can wiſh, beyond Example of paſt Ages, or the preſent Times in any other Common-wealth; from whom you have received all poſſible Aſſurance of continuing ſo for the

future; you to Defame, to Libel, to Conſpire againſt, to Reſiſt, to deny Chearful and Conſcientious Subjection, and Liberal Contributions, or rather neceſſary Retributions, to theſe Bountiful and Gracious Princes? Oh Height of Impiety! Oh Barbarous Inhumanity! For ſhame wipe off this Reproach from the Chriſtian Name, and from the *Engliſh* Nation, whereof you are Members.

Sermon

Sermon II.

Titus 3. Ver. 1.

Put them in Mind to be ſubject to Principalities and Powers, to Obey Magiſtrates.

IT is the Univerſal Cuſtom of Mankind to carry on their Publick Triumphs with Feaſting, and among other External Rites of Mirth, to chear their Hearts with a more than Ordinary freedom in the uſe of the Creature. To do ſo, is the Voice of Reaſon, the Leſſon of Experience, a Maxim written in the Word of God it ſelf, and Warranted by the practice of the moſt Holy Men we there read of. There is a certain ſourneſs contracted in our Natures by buſineſs; and Abſence is apt to interrupt our Correſpondence, to eſtrange us from one another: But our Solemn Meetings re-collect us again, and Good Chear ſweetens the Soul, ſoftens the Temper, after all our Care and Travel: Hereby the Spirits being Reviv'd, and the Heart putting on her Feſtival Robes (I mean Joy and Gayety) Mutual Love and Friendſhip

among private Neighbours is eaſily renew'd, the common Intereſt of Societies inlarg'd, and by doing and receiving Offices of kindneſs, the Houſe is Swept and Cleanſed from all thoſe impurities of wrath, bitterneſs, diſſentions and animoſities; in whoſe room ſucceed thoſe ſweet and beautiful graces of Joy and Peace and entire Affection one towards another. *Wine* (ſaith the Pſal.) *maketh glad the Heart of Man, and Bread ſtrengtheneth Mans Heart. It is good and comly* (ſaith the Preacher) *there is nothing better, than that a Man ſhould eat and drink, and make his Soul enjoy good in his Labour; To whom God hath given Riches and Wealth, to him has he given Power to eat thereof, to take his Portion and to rejoyce in his Labour. This is the gift of God. Then I commended Mirth* (ſaith he) *becauſe a Man has no better thing under the Sun, than to eat, and to drink, and be Merry.* Our Lord himſelf took a freedom herein, which drew upon him that ſpiteful Character that he was *A Glutton and a Wine-bibber, a friend of Publicans and Sinners.* It is in my Judgment an unlucky obſervation, of one, but has much of truth in it, that they who are backward to bear a part in the Innocent diverſions of Feaſting and Rejoycing, are for the moſt part Ill-natur'd Men, Peeviſh and full of Malice, Men that watch advantages to enſnare their Neighbours, and to effect ſome ill deſign upon them.

Pſ. 104. 15.

Eccleſ. 2. 24. 3. 12, 22. 5. 18. 8. 15. 9. 9.

Matth. 11. 19.

But whatever uſefullneſs may be obſerv'd in Publick Entertainments, yet however this is a more Noble truth—*the Kingdom of God is not Meat nor Drink, but Righteouſneſs and Peace*; So may I ſay that the Publick Societies of Men, and Bodies Corporate, are not Meat nor Drink, but Righteouſneſs and Peace; that Feaſtings are but the accidental, the circumſtantial parts of Unity, the outward expreſſions of it, not

Rom. 14. 17.

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the effectual means of Producing or Continuing it. If there be not an inward foundation of Peace laid in the Soul, our good fellowship will end in Variance, and Strife, and Riot; and our Love dissolve as soon as our Feasting is over; and all the substantial good design'd by these Festival endearments, will be utterly disappointed.

In these unhappy days of ours, there is one Mischievous disorder crept in among us, whilst most of us are ready enough to joyn in the outward Pageantry's of Peace and good will, in the Ceremonious Practice of love and good fellowship; I mean Eating and Drinking, and plentifully entertaining one another; yet our Hearts are divided, neither are we agreed in that one necessary and fundamental Principle of Peace, *viz.* Obedience, and Subjection to the Civil Magistrate; without which it is utterly impossible to maintain a good and lasting correspondence among our selves, in the mutual assistance and defence of one another. Whilst therefore you are Managing the external Pomp of your Love-Feasts, 'tis the Preachers business and duty too (I conceive) to lay the lasting Foundation thereof, upon your Hearts; whilst you are Drinking the Kings Health, and Continuance of the Publick Happiness under Him; it will not be thought impertinent that we, who are invited to carry on the Religious part of these Solemnities, should endeavour to commend unto your Conscience that Evangelical Doctrine of being *Subject to Principalities*, &c. without which all the shews of Friendship among your selves, of Loyalty to your Prince, and of Faithfullness to the established Government, is but meer Pretence, and the vilest Hypocrisie, and will at last discover it self in Treason to the Prince, in Faction to

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the State, and in Treachery one towards another. This then shall be my design and task at this time, to lay the Groundwork of Peace and Union among you, (*viz.*) Submission to the Governours and Government.

But alass amidst the many discouragements, we the Ministers of the Gospel labour under at this day, this is not the least, that we are become hateful, and exposed to the fury and madness of a Stubborn People, and that chiefly, because we will not run into the same excess of Riot as they do; but continue Zealous in maintaining the Peace, of the Present Government, as by Law establish'd, against all opposition; that we still resolutly engage in that part of the Quarrel, where our presence and assistance is most useful, where the Enemies of the Publick Peace are most numerous and Powerful. To omit what might Justly be pleaded in our defence, as considered in our Politick Capacities, (*scil.*) that we are members of the same Publick Society, and our Interests embarkt in the Ship of the Common-wealth, as well as others; that by our Promises and Oaths we are oblig'd (what in us lies) with our Lives and Fortunes, and then surely also with our Tongues and Pens to support the Government; that our temporal happiness and well being in this World, depending on the Peace of the Common-wealth, we should be wanting to our selves, and sin against the Eternal Law of Nature, if we did not endeavour our own preservation as far as the Laws of God and Man will allow us. Upon which account certainly we might hope to pass, if not for Men of Conscience, yet of some tolerable degree of Sense and Reason, whilst we study to keep our own Ground, to maintain our Rights and Properties, at least we might Pass for such with those Men, who we plainly see resolve to Pro-

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teſt themſelves, contrary to the Law of the Land, without any regard to Honour and Conſcience and the Religion they profeſs; in ſpite of that tye of gratitude for the Protection they have hitherto enjoy'd, and of the repeated Aſſurances, by Oaths and Proteſtations given to the Government, for their Peaceable demeanour.

But ſetting aſide all theſe conſiderations, when I recollect, how that in the Perſon of St. *Paul*, there is a neceſſity laid upon us Miniſters, and a Woe pronounc'd againſt us all, if we Preach not the Goſpel; and when I remember among other Evangelical Precepts of Holineſs, this of Subjection to the Civil Magiſtrate is not the leaſt, unto which we are frequently and moſt earneſtly exhorted in the Holy Scriptures; but chiefly when I obſerve that St. *Paul*, who himſelf preſſed this duty upon the Chriſtians at *Rome*, was alſo careful to inſtruct the whole Church of God therein, and among many other Topicks and Heads commended unto *Titus* Biſhop of *Crete* to Preach upon, charges him in my Text to *put them in mind to be Subject*, &c. and when, laſtly I cannot but think and do Confidently affirm that in the perſon of *Titus*, all the Succeeding Preachers of the Goſpel, are oblig'd by Vertue of that Apoſtolical Canon in the diſcharge of their Miniſterial Office to Urge upon all Chriſtian Subjects Obedience to Authority, for theſe reaſons I do verily judge no Man of ſenſe can, no one of Conſcience will blame our Forwardneſs and Zeal in this kind. *Rom.* 13. 1.

For which reaſon, I ſhall here reſume the argument of Subjection to the Civil Magiſtrate, which I lately enter'd upon, on another Publick Occaſion. In the handling whereof I ſhall not need to repeat what was then ſaid, in the Parallel Explication of that place in the *Romans*, ſince

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many of you were present at that discourse: Neither will I give you or my self any other trouble, in the interpretation of these Words, more than to make these two Remarks. First, That St. *Paul* makes use here of three several Phrases in declaring the Nature of Christian Subjection, (*scil.*) *To be Subjected to Principalities, to be Subjected to Powers, and to Obey Magistrates.* Whence one of these two things plainly follows, either supposing the Apostle to have had different meanings, in those distinct Phrases, he must then be understood to have provided for the Christians Obedience, or Non-resistance, not only of the Supream Magistrate, but also of the Subordinate: Or else supposing the Apostle fell as it were accidentally into this variety, intending no more than Subjection to the higher Powers only, it will however follow from the redundancy of expression, that the Apostle was nearly concern'd, and mighty careful to have the Doctrine of Subjection effectually Imprinted upon the Hearts and Consciences of the *Cretians*, as a Point of greatest moment: Therefore varying the Phrase, and expressing his mind so Copiously (as it were dwelling upon the argument) lest the duty should be slipt over as of small account, lest his meaning should be mistaken, or any unpeaceable Christian should find a loop hole to creep out at, excusing himself from that indispensable duty by some nice distinction and subtlety.

Ψευσαί c. 1. 12. But secondly, I again remark, that the Persons whom the Apostle directs *Titus* to admonish and put in remembrance, were the *Cretians*, who (as most Islanders) were of old noted as *Faithless and Treacherous*, apt to waver and be tost'd about with every Tempestuous Wind, and upon every slight provocation, to be blown up into Mutiny and Rebellion.

Rebellion. 'Tis the Excellent *Grotius*'s Gloſs upon the words. *Crete* was always Turbulent and Seditious, and St. *Paul* would have them Admoniſhed of thoſe Faults, to which they were Naturally addicted, and by inveterate Cuſtom inclin'd: From this Obſervation you may be inform'd, as of the reaſon why St. *Paul* charges *Titus* to inſiſt upon that point among the *Cretians*, ſo have you a fair and Juſtifiable Account why we at this day ſo frequently take pains to preſs it upon our Fellow-Citizens in this Kingdom.

Valde Seditioſa ſemper fuit Creta. De eis vult moveri Cretas, quorum maximè indigebant.

Theſe two Remarks preſent you with the full meaning of the words and Satisfaction for what I have already, and ſhall now farther Diſcourſe upon this Argument; my buſineſs and intent being to Proſecute three or four difficult Caſes, that uſually fall under Debate, as concerning Non-reſiſtance.

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Firſt, What if the Supream Magiſtrate be an Uſurper? Now, though this Queſtion at firſt bluſh ſeems impertinent to our Condition in this Nation, yet it being look'd upon as a matter of no ſmall moment and difficulty rightly to ſtate it; and becauſe what I ſhall deliver upon this Argument, will in the end, if carefully attended to, conduce much to the Confirmation of that Doctrine which is my chief Aim to commend unto you this day, *Scil.* Subjection to the Legal Prince: I ſhall therefore crave leave, as briefly as I can, to reſolve that doubt in the firſt place.

I Anſwer therefore in the Affirmative, that though he is an Uſurper, yet ſtill he is the Ordinance of God, the ſucceſs of his Arms being a clear Indication of the Mind and Will of God, bearing on it the ſtamp of Divine Approbation, and indiſpenſably Obliging the People unto Patient and Peaceable Subjection. This was (I conceive) the Caſe of the Chriſtians, under

the *Roman* Emperours; who were Uſurpers, having no Legal Right to the Soveraignty, but what they attained by ſinful Force and Violently abrogating the Ancient Government. At leaſt I make account that that Deſpotical and Arbitrary Power, which they aſſumed and exerciſed over the People, was Unnatural, Unjuſt, and Uſurpation; and yet God, whoſe ſpecial Care it is always to provide for Publick Peace, is pleas'd ſo far to own and Countenance the Higher Powers, as not to ſuffer us Turbulently to reſiſt them, though Uſurpers. Trace the Hiſtory of the Church, you will not find Holy Men ſcrupling this point in the leaſt, nor curiouſly ſifting into the Princes Title, in every deſcent, and through a long ſeries of Succeſſion, nor upon any pretence of Weakneſs in their Tittle, putting themſelves in the Head of the Populace, and encouraging to reſiſtance. *Pharaoh* (as ſome Learned Men think) was an Uſurper; *For this Cauſe* (ſaith God) *have I ſet thee up*; that is, have permitted thee to take upon thee the Supream Authority, by proſpering, or ſuffering thy Ambition to Succeed againſt the Ancient known Law of Succeſſion, in *Egypt*. Yet neither *Moſes* nor the *Iſraelites* took this Advantage againſt him, nor did God himſelf any other ways deſign their Deliverance at firſt, than by Ordering them in his Name Peaceably to Supplicate for leave to go into the Wilderneſs to Sacrifice. All the Kings of *Iſrael* were Uſurpers againſt the Title of *David's* Houſe; many of them againſt the better Title of their immediate Predeceſſors. Did the Prophets or Good Men blow the Trumpet, and Aſſemble the People to Oppoſe the Uſurpers? Did not the Kings of *Judah* themſelves by Leagues, and Confederating with *them* in Wars againſt their Common Enemies, ſufficiently acknowledge their

Exod. 9. 16.

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Providential Right unto the Kingdom? The Prophet *Jeremy* is clear in this matter, — *I have made the Earth* (ſays God by his Prophet to the Jews) *the Men, and the Beaſts that are upon the Ground, in my great Power, and by my out-ſtretched Arm, and have given it unto whom it ſeemed meet unto me; and now I have given all theſe Lands into the hand of* Nebuchadnezzar, *King of* Babylon, *my Servant, to ſerve him.* The Caſe of the Jews was thus. God as a Puniſhment had given to *Nebuchadnezzar* Dominion over them; that is, had permitted him to Uſurp it, having carried away Captive their Legal Prince unto *Babylon.* Hereupon the Jews had ſubmitted to his Empire, and received *Zedekiah*, *Jehojakim*'s Brother, as their Deputy-Governour under *Nebuchadnezzar.* Theſe things were done not by vertue of any expreſs Revelation from God, but by the Rule of Common Diſcretion, and in Conformity to the Providential will of God. Now, if former Oaths unto the Natural Prince irreverſibly Oblige againſt the preſent ſignification of Gods Providence, then did *Zedekiah* and the Jews ſin in thus owning and ſwearing Fealty to the King of *Babylon*, in prejudice of *Jehojakim*, which is evident they did not; and their Submiſſion to *Nebuchadnezzar* was by God himſelf look'd upon as Lawful, and binding to the Conſcience. Therefore does *Jeremy* in that Chapter chide the Jews for practiſing a Revolt, and the Spirit of God calls it *Rebellion.* I ſhall confeſs here that *Zedekiah* had Sworn Allegiance to the Conquerour, that an unlawful Oath may bind, and conſequently, that this defection of *Zedekiah* might be ſinful by reaſon of the breach of his Oath; but then I muſt ſay in Anſwer, Firſt, That if it had been unlawful for *Zedekiah* and the Jews following the intimations of Providence, to Swear unto

Jer. 27. 5, 6.

2 Chron. 13.

Nebuchadnezzar, either the Prophet, or the Inſpired Hiſtorian would, and muſt have told us as much, and Reproved the Jews for that ſin: Or, Secondly, if we grant the Oath unlawful, then it could not have Obliged them againſt the Antecedent and Lawful Oath given to *Jehojakim*. For where there are two repugnant Oaths, 'tis more reaſonable that the former ſhould bind: at leaſt, that the lawful Oath (that given formerly to *Jehojakim*) ſhould take Place of the unlawful (that given to *Nebuchadnezzar*;) ſo that in this inſtance it appears that the reſiſtance of an Uſurper is ſinful, a reſiſtance of the Ordinance; and that we may Subject our ſelves to him, when Providence compels us.

Now the Reaſon of this Concluſion of mine is (I think) Obvious. God is Lord and Proprietour of the whole World. 'Tis he that *pulleth down one and ſetteth up another. By him Kings Reign.* We are not always to expect an immediate Revelation from Heaven for the Confirmation of his Will, or Satisfaction of our own Conſcience. He was indeed oft times pleas'd to diſcover his mind to the *Iſraelites* by his *Prophets*. What Propheſy and Revelation was to them, the ſame is Providence unto us, a manifeſt and ſufficient Proof of the Divine Will. All Mankind, the moſt Religious and Loyal, bare witneſs to this Truth in their Practiſe: and the beſt, the wiſeſt Princes allow their Subjects this Liberty, evermore paſſing bills of Amneſty upon the Recovery of their Kingdoms. This was the Motive, which prevail'd with one of our Kings for enacting that equitable Law, whereby the People are acquitted of Treaſon, when they ſubmit to a crown'd Uſurper, that Ceremony (it ſeems) being intended for a Legal Token of Gods Providential Will. Thus far

Hen. 7th.

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(I am apt to believe) the moſt Diſloyal among us will agree with me. Wherefore that I may not be miſunderſtood, it will be neceſſary to lay down theſe following Rules and Limitations.

1. That it is the duty of every Subject to aſſiſt his Prince, to maintain the preſent Government againſt an Uſurper to the utmoſt of his Power; and this not only in the beginning of Rebellion (which ſhould always be nipt in the Bud) but continue ſo doing with the hazard of his Life and Fortune, whilſt their remains any Hopes, any Legal Methods of Defence. For I would not be miſtaken, as if I accounted it a matter of ſmall Moment to depart from our Oaths and Aſſurances given to the Government; or as if I took upon me to licence People to practiſe againſt the Peace of the State, or to herd themſelves with tumultuous and ungovernable Men. No, it will not be eaſy for a Loyal and Religious Subject, to proſtitute his Conſcience upon every firſt appearance of danger or to violate his Contracts by a ready complyance with the Uſurper, before he does or ſuffers, or makes any oppoſition in behalf of the Natural Prince. But then only he may and is to ſubmit, when Providence has put an end to the diſpute, and clearly decided the Controverſy. And this may happen two ways: 1. When 'tis become morally impoſſible to reſtore the oppreſſed Prince (as appears to have been the caſe of the *Jews*, when *Jehojakim* was captive in *Babylon*) then the hand of Providence has laid a neceſſity upon us to acquieſce in the Alteration of Government. For as neceſſity has no Law according to the vulgar ſaying, ſo impoſſibilities fall under no Law, according to the Maxim of the Schools. This is taken for granted by all men, and even the ſupreme Rulers themſelves approve it,

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No one is or can in the Nature of the thing be oblig'd to impoſſibilities either by God or Man: neither will the Powers in this Extremity require Subjects out of Fondneſs to run themſelves head long into deſtruction in vain and to no purpoſe at all. It is an Aphoriſm in the Divine Oeconomy it ſelf: God has thus (yea more favourably) reſolved the Caſe between him and us— *Math.* 6. 13. *I* (ſays he) *will have Mercy and not Sacrifice.* We are not ſtrictly tied to the obſervation of his Poſitive Precepts.

His negative Laws oblige *ſemper & ad ſemper*, as the Learned ſpeak. That is plainly thus; our Circumſtances will never allow us to blaſpheme God, to murder, to ſteal, or to commit Adultery. Becauſe 'tis *Ex.* 20. ſaid, Thou ſhalt not, *&c.* The Holineſs of the Divine Nature cannot, will not in any wiſe diſpenſe herein. But his Poſitive Commands do not oblige *ad ſemper.* It is permitted us upon urgent Occaſions, for inſtance, to abſent our ſelves from the Publick Worſhip, to do works of Neceſſity and Charity, and we are not always bound to publiſh our Opinions, or to profeſs our Faith. (tho we may not deny it.) The Goodneſs and the mercy of the Divine Nature thus far indulges us as to the performance of our Duty to him. And may we not reaſonably expect the ſame Meaſure from our Earthly Governours? It can never, I own, be lawful for us to blaſpheme *their* Honour, to fight againſt them or murder them, becauſe 'tis ſaid, Thou ſhalt not ſpeak evil of the Rulers, thou ſhalt not reſiſt them, (theſe negative Dutys oblige *ad ſemper*;) but 'tis not always our indiſpenſible Duty to fight for them. In extream neceſſity then we may ſubmit to an Oppreſſor. Natural Prudence, and ſelf-preſervation will warrant and enforce us to it. Our Religion, our Conſcience and Fide-

Fidelity to our Soveraign being to be guided by the Rule of Reaſon and Diſcretion, to be concluded by the almighty Power of Providence, we muſt ſit down, and like reaſonable men examine, *whether we are able with ten thouſand to march into the Field, and meet our Adverſary with twenty thouſand*, as our Lord adviſes. Luke 14. 31. When there is no humane probability of Succeſs, there God has put a ſtop to our Endeavours. *Hitherto we are to go, and no farther.* For the Relation between the Leige Prince, and the Leige People, the mutual Offices of Protection and Aſſiſtance, are now, tho not wholly and eternally diſſolved, yet, ſuſpended for a while. As the Prince deprived cannot be taxt juſtly, becauſe in the Diſcharge of his publick Truſt, he does not deſperately run himſelf into certain ruine for the Protection of his Subjects: So neither can *he* reaſonably expect his People ſhould do ſo in his Quarrel, when there is no Hopes of Succeſs. Both the one and the other are patiently to ſuffer under the Diſappointment. *Reſervare ſe meliori fortunæ*, waiting a more favourable conjuncture of aſſerting their Rights and Liberties.

Secondly when the Natural Prince and his Legal Heirs are all extinct, or loſt, then certainly the Uſurper is the Divine Ordinance and ought to be recogniz'd as ſuch, having the beſt viſible Title, *i. e.* actual Poſſeſſion of the Crown; On whom by Providence and the Divine will the ſupreme Authority is devolved. And I am well ſatisfyed, that if this Rule is not to be followed, 'tis impoſſible for us to ſubmit unto any Higher Powers at this day, ſo many Invaſions, Uſurpations and violent Changes having been made in all Governments. Were we permitted to trace every Princes Title from the beginning downward to this preſent time; and then to reſiſt upon the Diſcovery of any one

one Flaw in the ſeveral Alterations and Succeſſions, we ſhould find ſcarce one juſt, and might upon that ſcore reſiſt, I verily think. But then

When I affirm we may and ought to be Subject to a Uſurper, yet (if there be but a bare Natural Poſſibility of our Soveraigns return) I would be underſtood to ſpeak of an unactive Submiſſion, (as I may call it) that is, of ſitting down patiently under his Dominion as Sufferers, and as a conquered People, not actual Promoters or Defenders of the Change. For conſidering our former Oaths, 'tis Indecent and Treacherous ſo far to comply with Uſurpation, as to become active Inſtruments in the new Tyranny. We may not then ingage in publick Offices, and places of Truſt. We may not inform againſt, nor implead, nor judg, nor perſecute our *Fellow* Citizens upon the Uſurpers account. We may not commend his Government, nor write Panegyricks, nor erect Monuments to the Commendation of his Perſon and Virtue. We may not enter into Engagements of Maintaining his Authority againſt the juſt and legal Title of the excluded Prince, nor poſitively abjure the Royal Family. If we proceed thus far in Subjecting our ſelves, we are guilty of perjury the downright breach of our Sacred Oaths: at leaſt may bring our Conſciences into ſuch a Snare, that if ever Providence turns our Captivity and Reſtores our Soveraign, we are reduc't into this Streight of Neceſſarily forſwearing our ſelves. For to adhere to the Uſurper, to be active in his Defence, is a Violation of our firſt Oath, which Eternally obliges us not to reſiſt our natural Prince: And to be active in our Princes Cauſe, is manifeſt perjury for the ſame Reaſon. The Sin of forſwearing our ſelves and unfaithfulneſs Will one of theſe Ways of a ſurety

Cleave

Cleave to us. But if any think to avoid this *Dilemma* by being a Neuter, he is so grosly mistaken, that he is perjur'd in both Respects, and doubly forswears himself. He defends neither the Prince nor the Usurper: at least he resists neither, as he has oblig'd himself. For the avoiding of which inconvenience it is our Wisdom and Duty, tho to be Subject, yet not active under the Usurper. Because,

3. When Opportunity offers its self of recalling the Prince, and Re-establishing the Lawful Government, (which oft times has and will happen, even when it has appear'd impossible) then our former Obligation revives and returns upon us. For Providence (which I always maintain is the Finger of God, a Demonstration of his Will) not onely admonishes us of our Duty, but by putting it into our Power invites us to pull *him* down; who Ceases to be the Divine Ordinance, and as *a rod is flung into the Fire*. Thus *Jeremy* after he had exhorted the *Jews* to be subject to *Nebuchadnezzar*, to his Sons and to his Sons Sons, adds—*after shall many Nations and great Kings serve themselves of him*, Ch. 27. 7. that is, When Providence should put the Power and Opportunity into their Hands: The whole that has been said in Answer to this first Question seems in my Judgment agreeable to the Principles, and in a great measure to the Practice of that Learned Lawyer, that honest Gentleman, that good Subject, that excellent Christian, the Lord Chief Justice *Hales* in that account given of him by a late Learned Pen, and of that renown'd Roman Knight *Pomponius Atticus*, whose Life the said Eminent Lawyer has publish'd, having I suppose, singled if out for a Pattern and Coppy of his own Life. Now if what has been delivered upon this Argument be well laid together, I shall be so far from

giving any just Offence, or that I judg my self to have bound such strong Shackles upon the Conscience, as will not be easily shook off by any, that have any Spark of Religion and Loyalty left in them.

I proceed now to a second Query, what if the Natural Prince stretches his Dominion beyond the Line, exercises his Power beyond the Compass & against the Rule of the Law? To this I reply, He is still the Higher Power, the Ordinance of God. Thou mayest not revile him, nor by Force resist him, nor with danger to his Life, his Person, his Crown and Dignity, or the Publick Peace defend thy self. Thou art notwithstanding bound to pay him all Reverence, in Patience and Humility to possess thy Soul. This I take to be St. *Peters* Doctrine, who, when he had perswaded Submission to the King, and Subjection to Masters, even to the froward, backs his Doctrine thus —*for this is Thank-worthy, if a Man for Conscience towards God indures grief, suffering wrongfully; not so much as Answering again*, (as St. *Paul* to *Titus* commands; that is, not saucily, not reproachfully. Which also is by *Peter* recommended from the Example of Christ,—*who, when he was reviled, reviled not again*. Now because, there are among us many, that ridicule this Doctrine, and with much Confidence explode that Principle of betaking our selves only to Prayers and Tears, humble and modest Petitions, which the Primitive Saints, and we at this day affirm the onely Conscientious Rule, and Remedy against Injury received from the Supreme Magistrate; 'Tis worth our pains to observe, how those Apostles encourage the Christians, and by what Motives they press them unto this patient Suffering. Says *Paul*—*Knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the Inheritance.* And, *he that doth wrong shall receive for*

1 *Pet.* 2. 13.

v. 18.

Tit. 2. 9.

1 *Pet.* 2. 23.

Coloss. 3. 24, 25.

for the wrong which he has done, that is, of God. Again he ſaith—*Knowing whatſoever good thing any Man doeth, the ſame ſhall he receive of the Lord.* Says Peter—*If when ye do well and ſuffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God. For hereunto are ye called, becauſe Chriſt alſo ſuffered for us, leaving us an Example. When he ſuffer'd, he did not ſo much as threaten, but committed himſelf to him that judgeth righteouſly.* *Paul* and *Peter* comforted not their Diſciples with hopes of Opportunity, ſome time or other to aſſert their juſt Rights and Natural Liberty; which had been ſafe enough to have done in theſe their private Letters; Nor do they talk of a Natural tranſcendent *Power*, to reſiſt when they ſhould be able: but as became good Subjects and *Preachers* of righteouſneſs, dealt plainly with them, putting them in Remembrance, what they were to truſt unto, *ſcil.* to the righteous Judgment of God, to the future Recompence of reward, and to the Divine *Puniſhments* to be inflicted upon their Oppreſſors. They had now perfectly learnt their Leſſon, not ſo much as to call down Fire from Heaven to conſume their Enemys, nor muſter whole Legions of Angels in their own juſt Defence and *Preſervation*: much leſs not inſiſt upon their Natural Right againſt the *Publick Peace*. Whence I conclude, that in Caſe of Injury and Oppreſſion, God is the onely Judg, to him we are to appeal, to his Care and Goodneſs is the Cauſe to be committed. Our Obligations of Honour, Obedience patient Submiſſion and peaceable Subjection cannot ceaſe in the Mean Time. If any ſhould now reply, that the foreſaid Paſſages concern the Duty of Servants to their Maſters, not of Subjects to the Higher Powers, I ſhall anſwer, that St. *Peters* Diſcourſe and St. *Pauls* in *Titus* ſeems plainly intended

Eph. 6. 8.

1 Pet. 2. 20. 21. 23.

of both: and I farther reply, that since Christians were commanded to be Subject, not indecently to answer their Patrons tho *froward* and unjust; that since they were not allowed by Disobedience to recover their Natural Liberties, but to abide *in the same Calling, wherein they were called*: that is, as *Erasmus* glosses upon that Place, to bear their Lot with contended minds, not to plead the Law of Nature against the Dominion of their Masters, nor upon Pretext of Religion to disturb the Commonwealth; if it were thus with Christian Slaves, it must be understood thus by parity of Reason with Christian Subjects, tho they suffer unjustly, *dixerit*, illegally. There is, I will not deny a great Difference between them and us, the Emperours and Heads of Families being much more absolute and arbitrary, than our Princes and Masters are at this day. And yet this will not justify resistance, which being attended with the Breach of the Publick Peace and Order, and a Subversion of Government in its Tendency, is as irregular & sinful in a Mixt as in an absolute Monarchy, and every whit as repugnant to the Doctrine of the Apostles. The Exorbitances of the supreme tho limited Power can be no plea for the Subject to rebell, when the Publick Contract has expresly forbid it. But if in contempt and spite of the Municipal Law the Subjects of a limited Monarch may fly to the Law of Nature, their Moral transcendent Power for the Defence of their just Rights and Properties, I see no Reason, why the Christians under the Roman Empire might not betake themselves unto the same Law of Nature, their natural transcendent Power, and by Force assert themselves out of that Despotical, Unnatural, Unjust and Unsupportable Slavery they were under.

Quos deprehendit Evangelicæ Doctrina obnoxios servituti, æquo animo ferant, nec ideo se putent manumissos quod a tyrannide vitiorum sint manumissi.

Ne pretextu Religionis Christianæ ordo reip. turbetur suam quisque sortem ferat, & in ea perduret.

under. To make an End of this, It is acknowledg'd by moſt of our ingenuous Adverſaries, that even in mixt Monarchy as great Deference, Obedience and Submiſſion is done to the Perſon of the King, as to an abſolute Prince. And this at preſent I have only pleaded for. *Eſpecially Treatiſe of Monarchy, &c.*

Now, becauſe when we back this Doctrine with the Chriſtians Practice in the Primitive days, we are wont to meet with Scornful Men, ſuch as will by no means admit the Holy Apoſtles and Martyrs, as the Pattern, but Reproach them for tame Fools, as I have my ſelf heard ſome Cenſuring thoſe Famous Souldiers of the *Thebean* Legion, I ſhall give you further to underſtand, that our Predeceſſors in the Faith were not ſo weak, not ſo *Stoical*, not ſo Prodigal of their Eſtates, nor weary of their Lives, but ſo far as the Law of God, and the Political Government gave them leave, were as briſk in their own Defence, and as tender of their Natural and Civil Intereſts as we can be. Of which I ſhall offer to you a plain Demonſtration out of Scripture, the more fully to explain and prove my Anſwer to this ſecond Query. The Apoſtle *Paul* and *Silas* having been Impriſoned and Whipt at *Philippi*, unheard, uncondemned; that is, contrary to Law; the Magiſtrates, upon ſecond and better thoughts, being Conſcious that they had exceeded their Commiſſion, as part of amends, and to ſtop their Legal Complaints, ſent to have them diſmiſt privately. But *Paul*, who could reſent an Injury as well as any among us, was not ſo ſenſeleſs and ſtark Mad, to let this paſs without taking Notice, but valuing his Eaſe, and his Liberty, and his *Roman* Priviledges better than ſo, ſtands upon his terms, and requiring at leaſt ſome Honourable Satisfactions, ſends them this Couragious Meſſage, Acts 16.

Meſſage — *They have beaten us openly uncondemned,*
Ver. 37. *being* Romans, *and have caſt us into Priſon; and now do they thruſt us out privately? Nay verily but let them come themſelves and fetch us out*; which the Magiſtrates were forc'd to condeſcend unto, no doubt acknowledging their own Raſhneſs, and begging Pardon, intreated them quietly to depart. Somewhat alike Story you will meet with in the 22*d.* of the *Acts*, and in the 19*th.* where *Paul* Appealed unto *Cæſar*. But when he ſtood before the High Prieſt, and was *com-*
Acts 23. 2. *manded to be ſmitten on the Mouth*, Humane Infirmity, and ſudden Paſſion provok'd him to ſpeak unadviſedly with his Lips, ſo as neglecting, or forgetting his Duty, he burſt out into theſe words, *God ſhall ſmite*
Ver. 3. *thee, thou whited Wall.* Here the Supream Magiſtrate (for as ſuch was the High Prieſt look'd upon by the Jews, though limited) proceeded not according to Law; on which Account *Paul* having Reproved him unmannerly, upon the very firſt check and Intimation
Ver. 5. of his fault, confeſs'd, *I wiſt not, Brethren, that he was the High Prieſt*: I did not remember, nor carefully enough conſider it with my ſelf (for *Paul* could not be Ignorant who he was) I acknowledge my Error, my Paſſion herein. And thus he Argues at laſt
Ver. 5. againſt himſelf; *It is written, thou ſhalt not ſpeak evil of the Ruler of thy People.* Let us (my Brethren) Expound *Paul*'s Doctrine by his Practice. What can be the ſenſe of theſe words, *Let every Soul be ſubject to Higher Powers — Be ſubject to Principalities — Obey Magiſtrates — Submit your ſelves to, and Honour the King — Reſiſt not the Ordinance?* Even in the preſent Caſe put of his Acting Illegally, 'tis ſo far from being Lawful to defend our ſelves, or repel Injury by Force, that 'tis not permitted us ſo much as to Reproach him by

by indecent Reflections on his Perſon, if the Apoſtles Practice may paſs for a good Comment upon his own Text. And let this ſuffice in Anſwer to the Second Queſtion.

I ſhould now go on to two other remaining Queries, but it being not fit for me to intrench farther upon your Patience, I ſhall reſerve them to the Afternoon. And for a Concluſion, ſhall beg leave to look back to what in the beginning I took ſome little Notice of, and in a few words expoſtulate with our Adverſaries about thoſe unreaſonable Clamours they raiſe againſt us, who endeavour to inform our Congregations of the Nature, Duty, and Neceſſity of Subjection to the Higher Powers.

If indeed we would become Leaders of the People, and draw them forth into the Wilderneſs, the Field of Rebellion, we need not then Queſtion at our deſcent from the Pulpit, but to meet with the Praiſes of Men for quitting our ſelves ſo dexterouſly in the behalf of the good of the People, as ſome Men are pleaſed to call Faction. Might we Preach to the People what is grateful to their Ears and corrupt Hearts, our Task would be eaſie, our Labours acceptable, and in ſome meaſure ſucceſsful. If we could, or might be ſo wiſe in our Generation, as to ſuit our Diſcourſes to the prevailing Diſtemper of the Times, letting our words drop ſmoothly, and our Doctrine run down gently with the Stream of Popular Humour: I am ſenſible we ſhould be hugg'd, as Men of Temper, Peaceable and Moderate Men, Men that meddle not with the Times or State Affairs: That is in Truth, that ſay nothing; that is, nothing to purpoſe; that is, nothing towards the Information and Amendment of the preſent Diſorders among us. We might then be an happy ſort

ſort of Men, always in Favour, and evermore ſurrounded with Applauſes, which are the moſt bewitching Temptations to ſinful Silence and Moderation falſly ſo called. Had I *ex. gr.* no call to this Publick Performance here, did I not verily think it both ſeaſonable, and my indiſpenſable Duty to urge the Doctrine of obedience to the Higher Powers at this time, I might have remain'd lurking at home quiet, not have raiſed the malice and hatred of this pieviſh Generation againſt me, nor drawn upon my ſelf the odious Character of being a Tory, and a Sycophant. I might have been content with my private ſolitude, ſometimes with *Democritus*, Laughing at the Folly and Madneſs of this unquiet World, ſometimes with *Heraclitus* bewailing the Giddineſs of the ſinful People, and daily in my Cloſet, with the Prophet imploring the Mercy of God upon this miſerable Nation.

But it is otherwiſe with me and the reſt of my Brethren in the Miniſtry, we are not to be afraid of the faces of men through Cowardiſe, nor ſeek their commendation by Treachery and Compliance.

It is our work and buſineſs, which God has ordained us to, and ſtrictly requires at our hands, to watch over Mens Souls, as they that muſt give an account, to inſtruct, to rebuke, and to reform their evil ways, however dangerous it may be to us, or diſpleaſing to them. And ſo much the ſtronger obligation lies upon us to Preach up any Evangelical Precept, by how much the more we ſee the Peoples Principles and Practices running counter to the Doctrine of the Goſpel. To affirm (as many do) that this is not to Preach Chriſt and the Faith in Chriſt is meer Ignorance, to ſay no worſe of it. As if to Preach the Doctrine of Chriſt and

and the Gospel Precepts was not to Preach the Faith in Christ. St. *Luke*, I am sure long since thought so. He has told us that Felix *sent for* Paul *and heard him concerning the Faith in Christ*. What was the Subject of the Apostles Sermon? 'Twas—*Righteousness, Temperance and Judgment to come*. So that if to *reason of Righteousness, and Temperance*, be to Preach *the Faith in Christ*, then surely to plead for Obedience to Authority, and patient suffering under Oppression is likewise to Preach the Faith in Christ, I am therefore little concern'd, when 'tis told me, you lose this Friends kindness, that Neighbours good Opinion, you forfeit such a Persons Favour by your indiscreet and resolute ingagement on these ungrateful Points. Alas, these are but Worldly motives, not worthy to be laid in the Balance with a Mans Duty, *the friendship of Men being Enmity with God, and the Wisdom of this World Foolishness with him*. The Favour of God and some few good Men, the inward Peace and Satisfaction, that in simplicity and Godly sincerity, I have held forth the words of *Truth and Soberness*; and the Recompence of Reward promis'd to all the faithful dispensers of the Gospel, will infinitely outweigh those Vain and Momentary advantages. It is (I'le assure you) one great design of the Gospel to settle the unstable minds of the Multitude in Civil Peace and Patient Obedience, to compose them unto chearfulness, and a *readiness unto every good work*. And it is by consequence our Duty, and ought to be our endeavour to Promote the same to the utmost of our Power, to put an hook in the Nostrils of the Leviathans of our unhappy Age, to chastise such as make sport and play the Wantons in the Disturbances of the Commonwealth. Thus much I here freely confess, concerning

Acts 24. 24, 25.

James 4. 4. 1 Cor. 3. 19.

the Nature and Design of the Gospel, and our Duty: and think it so far from being an Objection against the truth of the Revelation of Jesus Christ, or a Crime in us, that 'tis its singular Excellency, and ought to be accounted our Glory and Commendation; whatever the conceited Atheists, the profane Wits, and the busy Pamphleteers of these days say to the contrary. For is it not reasonable thus to Judge, of the Wisdom, and Righteousness, and Goodness of God? That he who *takes care of the Lillies of the Field, of the Sparrow on the House top, and numbers the very Hairs of our Head*; that he who regards every particular Mans welfare, and is pleased to make known our mutual Duty one toward another in our private Relation, should much more provide for the Honour and safety of *Principalities and Powers*, of the Publick Peace and the relative Offices between the Prince and the Subject. Is not this Publick, this General good of infinite *more Value* to the World, and more worthy the Providential care and gracious regard of God by Revelation? He that Quarrels the Gospel (and all Revelation) as a Trick of State, a Politick contrivance of Priests, and Damns the Ministers of the Gospel, as base Instruments of the Princes Tyranny, because both it and they teach Obedience to the Soveraign Magistrate; may as well argue against our Religion and us, because we instruct Children to *Obey their Parents*, *Servants to be subject to their Masters*, and exhort you all to mutual Love, Peace, Charity, Justice and Uprightness one towards another. I maintain then, that Peace on Earth, National Peace, is one principal aim of our Christianity, one of the Chief blessings design'd us here below, by Christs appearance in the Flesh, and was the argument of the Heavenly Host's,

Matth. 6.

Anthem

Anthem at his Birth. And oh! *How beautiful on the Mountains are the feet of them that bring good Tidings, and publiſh Peace?* who in the Name of God charge the People with the Kings Peace.

Ay but (ſay ſome) theſe Prieſts are always medling with the Municipal Laws of the Land, obtruding upon their Auditors ſuch diſcourſes, as would beſeem the Reverend Judges on the Bench, rather than Miniſters in the Pulpit. This exception (I confeſs) implies too much of Commendation, tho it carries little of truth in it. However (ſince 'tis made uſe of againſt us) why (I beſeech you) may not we acquaint our ſelves and thoſe that hear us (when the Argument leads us to it, and ſince our adverſaries require it) with the Law, which is in part the meaſure of our Subjection to Civil Authority; as well as others Examine the Goſpel, which is the Rule of their Obedience to God, and to their Church Governours? Or how is it poſſible for us, to ſtate the queſtion aright? Unleſs we firſt inform the Conſcience of the Law of the Land, which (as many contend) is the only Standard of our Duty to the Prince.

But 'tis yet farther Objected. You are ſuch ſticklers, ſo reſtleſs on this Point, that your Sycophancy is manifeſt, and your Harangues become Nauſeous to the Peoples Stomachs. Ay, and will be ſo, as long as we thwart their quarrelſom Humour, as long as we oppoſe their turbulent Practices againſt the preſent Powers. Is there not reaſon, a neceſſity for us ſo to do? Are there not more Underminers of the Government, than Preachers of Submiſſion to Authority? Are there not more Libels ſent forth to overturn the preſent Eſtabliſhment, than Sermons to uphold the Peace and Order of the State? Yea, are not the Ene-

mies of Peace more apparently guilty of Flattery? whilst they fawn on the Multitude, Court the Populace, Cajole the People, and raise the Mobile into Discontent and Mutiny, still keeping them in continual Motion; still Heightening their Fears, and Alarming them with the Prospect of remote dangers: and by these little Arts improving *their* instability and suspicions of danger, (which blessed be God, is acknowledged uncertain and at a distance) even to the present disquiet of the Nation: Foolishly anticipating their own misery, and bereaving us all of our present happiness, by too careful a providence of future troubles: whereas Wisdom its self has said, *that we must not take care of to morrow; and sufficient to the day is the evil thereof.*

Matth. 6. 34.

And why (forsooth) should we for discharging our Duty, be thus malitiously slandered, as Hypocrites and Court-flatterers? Did *Paul* flatter *Nero* in his Epistle to the *Romans*? It cannot be imagin'd. Did *Peter* flatter all the Princes and Magistrates in *Pontus*, *Asia*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia* and *Bithynia* (to the Christians of which Provinces he wrote, as you learn in the Preamble of that Epistle?) It cannot be suppos'd. Did *Paul* here in the Text, put *Titus* upon that Unchristian, Servile, that Unmanly art of Flattery? It cannot be thought. Or was our blessed Saviour himself a Flatterer, when he bids the Jews—*give unto* Cæsar, *the things that are* Cæsar's? Surely none will dare to harbour so mean, so Blasphemous thoughts of the Son of God. In fine were all the Bishops, Priests, and Holy Men of Old, that laid down their Lives for the Faith, Parasites? Was *Tertullian* a Sycophant? who Apologizing for the Christians thus boasts on their behalf—*We Christians adore the Righteous Judgment*

1 Epist. 1.

of

of God, who has Ordain'd the Emperor to Govern the Nations: We Christians are Enemies to none, no not to the Emperor, who is appointed Ruler over us by God, and 'tis our duty to Love, Reverence, Honour, and wish him Prosperity: We Christians in the first place Reverence and Obey God, and next unto him the Emperor.

Is this Flattery? Was this an unfaithful Representation of the Christians Loyalty in those Days? In no wise. To make an end of this Apology, If the Primitive Fathers and Noble Martyrs, if the Holy Apostles, if the Blessed Jesus were Sycophants, then, O my Soul, come not thou into *their* Secrets: Mine Honour, be not thou United to *their* Assemblies, who whilst *we* are labouring for Peace, make *themselves* ready for Battel. I had much rather be reckoned among those Hypocrites, and to have my Portion with those Glorious Transgressors. This short Defence of my self and Brethren will not (I hope) be accounted unseasonable; nor can it be look'd upon as impertinent to the Text, if it be well considered, as no question it will be by so Judicious an Audience. If then it be *right in the sight of God, to Obey Man rather than God*; to follow the People in their Turbulency, rather than the Apostles Canon of putting them in mind *to be subject to Principality*, &c. Judge ye.

Sermon

Sermon III.

Titus 3. Ver. 1.

Put them in Mind to be ſubject, &c.

IT muſt be confeſs'd that all Parties among us acknowledge (in general) Obedience due to the Supream Magiſtrate; but in the mean time are ſo miſerably Divided in Opinion, in what Perſon or Perſons the Supream Power is Lodg'd, that (as our Lord Prophetically deſcribing the Hereſies and Diviſions of the Church, fore-tells that one Separation would *cry, loe, here is Chriſt; another, loe, he is there*: Even thus it fares with us at this day, as to the Higher Power.) We are not yet agreed among our ſelves, to whom the Supream Authority of the Nation belongs, nor by Conſequence know, how far Non-reſiſtance of the Prince in our preſent Conſtitution is Obligatory. Thoſe who of late have wrote on this Argument, have ſo unmercifully tormented the Doctrine of Subjection with diſtinctions, that 'tis as hard to come to the knowledge of our Duty, what Governours we are to obey, where and

and when, how, and in what Caſe, in what ſenſe and degree Reſiſtance is Unlawful, as 'tis to find the true Doctrine of the Goſpel in the School-men, or to direct the Conſcience in the Practice of Holineſs out of the Jeſuits Morals. This Evangelical Precept is ſo ſtrangely Wire-drawn, brought into ſo narrow compaſs, that I cannot apprehend what tye can be laid upon the Subject, ſince 'tis impoſſible, but upon ſome pretence or other a Factious Spirit may ſtill alledge ſomething to Juſtifie his Rebellion: For moſt of theſe Diſputers about the Nature of our Government, do ſtill centre and agree upon this one Peſtilent and Ruining Principle, That the People by the Law of Nature, by the firſt Reaſon of Government, by a Moral tranſcendent Power (not expreſs'd, but neceſſarily implyed in every Political Conſtitution) are their own Judges; what their Rights and Priviledges are, when Property is Invaded, when Religion is in danger to be Subverted, when Liberty of Conſcience is Violated, and when their Civil and Spiritual Intereſts may forcibly be maintain'd. How of late was Obedience to the Higher Powers run down with full Cry, forc'd to skulk, and paſs along the Streets in Maſquerade? And ſometimes to Attire her ſelf in the Harlotry and Diſguiſe of Rebellion its ſelf? So that an inquiſitive Man would have been puzzled to diſcover her, as much as *Diogenes* was to find out an Honeſt Man, or *Elijah* another beſides himſelf, that had not bowed the Knee to *Baal*. The Matter is (Bleſſed be God) ſomewhat amended among us in appearance: Yet becauſe 'tis to be feared that there are ſtill many tainted with Factious Principles (a very little of which, like the Leaven of the *Phariſees*, is able to Leaven and Corrupt the whole Lump) ſince many ignorant

ignorant People know not which way to turn themselves, nor whose Servants they are, whom they ought to Obey. I shall now proceed farther on the Argument of Non-resistance, and endeavour to resolve two other Queries relating thereunto: The first of which is,

What if the Supream Power sets up Idolatry? What if he become an Enemy to Godliness, a Betrayer of the true Reformed Religion of the Nation? Still I Reply, he is thy Natural Leige Prince, and the Ordinance of God. When the Citizens of *Delphi*, upon the approach of *Xerxes* in his Formidable Invasion of *Greece*, Consulted the Oracle, what course they should take for the preservation of their Religion, their Sacred Reliques? They received this Answer — *God is able to provide for the Security of his own Honour and Worship.* 'Tis not unlikely those wretched People were more sollicitous about the ἀναθήματα, those Rich Presents, and Inestimable Treasures, which had been sent to the Idol by *Crœsus* and other Superstitious Princes, more than for the Honour of God. And so I fear 'tis with most among us, whatever Zeal they make shew of for the Preservation of Religion, and the Glory of God; the care of their Wealth and Estates is at the bottom of all, which indeed they are not ashamed in their Discourses many times to own. But whatever it be, and though the Oracle of the Devil seems to deny that People Liberty of using Lawful means for the Security of their Religious Treasure (for certainly 'twas Lawful for them to defend both against the Power and Avarice of an Invader, either by hiding it in the Earth, or removing it into a more safe place, which was the only Question put to the Oracle) yet certainly the Infallible Oracles of God does not allow us to maintain

αὐτὸς ἱκανὸς εἶναι τῶν ἑωυτῶ πρήγματα. Herod. lib. 8. cap. 36.

maintain his Honour by diſhonouring, and illegal Reſiſtance of our Natural Prince: (For God himſelf is able to defend it, and has taken it into his own immediate Protection, if the Prince apoſtatizes.) Nor may we upon Pretence of the purity of Divine Worſhip renounce our Lawful Soveraign.

That Dominion is founded in Grace is as wild a Paradox as that other of *its being founded in Property*, and is ſo much the more dangerous, in that being the Manufacture of *Rome*, and tranſported hither by their Spiritual Merchants, the *Jeſuites*, is bought up greedily by our zealous Huckſters, the true Proteſtant Diſſenters. So far indeed the Government is beholden to them, that they have almoſt monopoliz'd the Commodity. But, my Brethren, *ye have not*, I hope, *ſo Learned Chriſt*. I do not read, that our Lord or his Apoſtles give us leave, nor Encouragement to propagate Chriſtianity by the *Sword*, or to defend the Goſpel by Tumult and Railing at *Superiors*, or Threatening to advance another on the Throne, whom we ſhall pleaſe to canonize for a *Saint*, contrary to the Known and Fundamental Law of *Succeſſion*. *Peter*, who miſtaking Chriſts meaning, when he bad the Diſciples to furniſh themſelves with *Swords*, briskly cut off *Malchus*'s Ear, but received this Check— *Put up thy Sword.* Matth. 26. 52. 'Tis worth our while to take a view of our Lords Diſcourſe and Behaviour on this Occaſion. *For*, ſays he, *they that take the Sword, ſhall periſh by the Sword.* v. 52. *Thinkeſt thou not, that I can pray to my Father, and he ſhall preſently give me more than twelve Legions of Angels for my Defence?* 53. *But how then ſhall the Scripture be fulfilled?* 54. It was not then (as ſome are pleas'd to affirm of the Primitive Saints) for want of Power that our Lord would not reſiſt, but in

Conſcience to the Ordinance, and in Obedience to the Authority of the Prieſts. Beſides, Chriſt to make amends for the raſhneſs of that hot headed Diſciple was pleas'd by a miraculous Cure of the Wound to repair that publick Injury and Breach of the Peace (for ſuch it was, *Malchus* being one of the High Prieſts Servants.) This (I imagine) gave ſuch Satisfaction on all ſides, as you read not that the Crime was ever laid to *Peters* Charge, nor roſe up in Judgment againſt our Saviour. Hence 'tis very probable that St. *Peter* afterwards became a moſt Zealous Aſſertor of the Doctrine of Subjection, as you will find in his firſt Epiſtle. The Children of *Iſrael* under *Pharaohs* hard Bondage cryed unto the Lord? And God undertook their Deliverance: not by Encouraging them to reſiſt the King, and diſturb the Peace by Rebellion. But ſending *Moſes* and *Aaron* to ſupplicate in their behalf. God himſelf condeſcended to ſend Ambaſſadors to him, and became a peaceable Interceſſor for them. And leſt *Pharaoh* (as he did) ſhould look upon *Moſes*'s Meſſage as a Sham, and his Miracles, as the Magical Tricks of an Aſpiring Spirit, how did God Evidence the Truth thereof? With what Power and Might, and outſtretched Arms did the Lord of Hoſts ſecond his Petitions? All the Reſiſtance they offered was but running away, and that too by the ſpecial Appointment of God. When the Tyrant purſued them, (tho in a warlike Poſture and Able in ſome Meaſure to ſell their Lives at a dear rate, yet) they did not lift up their Hands againſt the Kings Army. And when it muſt needs be, God contriv'd and wrought their Deliverance without their active Reſiſtance, or the Breach of the Peace, himſelf overthrowing *Pharaoh* and

and his *Egyptians* in the Red Sea. God, who is the Author of Peace and Order, the Ordainer of Government, ſeems always to have been ſo tender in this Point, that he never has made uſe of his ſupreme Power and Prerogative, ſo as to Commiſſion or Juſtify any Subject in their Reſiſtance of the Higher Powers, no not when the Higher Powers have been rejected, and their Succeſſors appointed by God himſelf. The *Iſraelites* petitioned *Reboboam* for redreſs of Grievances, and after denyal, ten Tribes revolted, but the Spirit of God has all along term'd it Rebellion. Shew me (if it be poſſible) one ſingle Inſtance in all the Changes of Government among them, where God contriv'd, or countenanc't, or the Spirit of God has commended or excus'd the Uſurpation. But this Point has been ſo learnedly handled, and ſo fully demonſtrated by many Excellent Pens of late, that I think it needleſs at Preſent to enlarge my ſelf farther on this Subject.

If it be objected that our Caſe is different from the Apoſtles and Primitive Chriſtians, our Religion being the Religion of the State eſtabliſh'd by Law: (And bleſſed be God it is ſo. Let our Mouths be filled with Laughter, and our Tongues with Joy. Let our Hearts be enlarg'd with Thankfulneſs to God, and the King for this Unvaluable Bleſſing. But if for our Unworthineſs and Unfruitfulneſs under this Spiritual Advantage, God as a Puniſhment of our Sins ſhall pleaſe to turn the Hearts of our Rulers, againſt us and the Truths we profeſs) What then? May we revile them; may we by force reſiſt them; may we ſecretly conſpire againſt them; may we murder or eject them? (God forbid.) Religion upon pretence of being the eſtabliſh'd Law of

the Land has no better Security thereby, than those Laws by which we lay claim to our Temporal Interests. It is then only to be considered as such, as to the Formal Nature, tho not as to the subject Matter of it. So that look how we are to demean our selves towards our Governours upon the Violation of our Civil Rights (of which I discours'd in the Forenoon) the same Course we must take upon their Breach of Trust in our Spiritual. We must by no means resist, affront, or libel them. We must not bring railing Accusations, nor vent venemous and spiteful Words against their Honour, Safety and Government. One Special Advantage we have as to our Religious concerns above our Temporal, *sc.* the Promise of the more immediate Care and Protection of God, whose we are, and whom we serve, which is an Anchor of the Soul both sure and stedfast: that if the Earthly Defender of our Faith leaves us, God himself will receive us under his Wings, and at last crown our Sufferings, with a far more Exceeding and Eternal Weight of Glory. But,

2. I proceed to the Second, which is the Grand Query and Difficulty of all, which many Men of Understanding and Sobriety, Men of Interest in their Country make a mighty Question of. For (say they) Saving to the Kings Person all due Honour and intire Submission; may we not by Force resist his evil Counsellours, his wicked Instruments, his Cut-throat Officers, those who for base and ambitious Ends invade the Peoples Liberties and Properties? I reply, No, you may not; which Conclusion I shall back with some following Reasons, in Order whereunto, I must premise, first,

That

That I do not plead for active Obedience, when the ſubordinate Magiſtrate Acts contrary to Law, but againſt active Reſiſtance only. No good Subject, no honeſt Patriot, ought, neither will become an Inſtrument of Tyranny, a Betrayer of his own, and Fellow Subjects juſt Rights and Priviledges, by actual Complyance and Execution of illegal Commands. If the Kings Miniſters ſhould order me to cut my Neighbours Throat, to pillage his Houſe, to levy Taxes upon his Eſtate contrary to Law, I am not bound to obey, nay, I am bound in Conſcience not to obey. But to oppoſe them by Force is on the other Hand unexcuſable before God and Man. It being a Manifeſt Violation of the Publick Peace, and of Worſe Conſequence to the Government than the arbitrary proceedings of the Kings Miniſters can be. 1.

When I affirm, that the Kings Miniſters ought not to be reſiſted by Force, I underſtand only ſuch as are Legally commiſſionated by him. For they, who by a pretended Secret, or Extraordinary Commiſſions (unto which the Government is a Stranger) invade my Perſon or Eſtate, I may oppoſe them and repell Force by Force. The Kings publick and deliberate Will declared in the known unrepeal'd Laws of the Land is to take Place of his private and ſudden Will expreſt in a Secret Warrant or Commiſſion: An Officer employed and acting in ſuch an illegal and extraordinary Manner is not to be lookt upon as the Kings Miniſter, but is to be treated as a Thief and common Enemy, and ſuch he will be found to be in the Judgment of the Kings Laws. I grant therefore, that in this Caſe Reſiſtance may be made Conſcien- 2.

ſcientiouſly, but not when the Officer is Legally Commiſſionated. Becauſe, that would be a Breach of the Publick Peace, and a *Subverſion* of the Government by Tumult and Rebellion*s*.

3. When I acknowledge that the Kings Officers not Legally Commiſſionated may be reſiſted, I do not thereby intend ſeditious or Tumultuous Reſiſtance, ſuch as is accompanied with Publick diſturbance. I do not impower the Subject to beat up the Drum, to liſt *S*oldiers, and to march in the Field, in a warlike or riotous Poſture, tho the Kings Miniſters ſhould act never ſo extravagantly. In ſo doing he exceeds his Political Power, and uſurps ſuch an Authority as is expreſly provided againſt by the Law. It is moreover a Breach of the Publick Peace, and directly tends unto the Subverſion of the Government. No Reſiſtance can in Conſcience nor with *S*afety to the Commonwealth be made, but what is permitted us by the expreſs Law of the Land. The Reſiſtance then I allow of in the Caſe put, is ſuch as I am enabled to by the Politick Contract of the *S*tate, as appealing to *S*uperior Courts or Magiſtrates, or in my ſingle Perſon reſiſting the violence Offered to me, ſuch as I may uſe againſt an Highway-man, a Fellon or a Murderer. For they, who, by Virtue of a private Commiſſion from the King, contrary to his known Publick Will publiſh'd in his Laws, invade my Perſon or my Property are no better than Thieves and Rogues, and may by perſonal Force be thus reſiſted, this being ſo far from being a Breach of the Publick *P*eace, or taking upon me more than by Law belongs to me, as that 'tis but the Execution of the Kings deliberate Will, the Law, and

and defending my ſelf, as the Law of the Land permitts me, and as the Law of Nature, Self-preſervation guides me. Theſe things premis'd, I return to my reſolution of the Query propounded, *i. e.* That upon the infringement of our Liberties, or incroachments upon our Civil Intereſts, we may in no wiſe forcibly reſiſt the Kings Legal Miniſters, however Exorbitant and Arbitrary they are in the execution of their Power. The reaſons of this concluſion are as follow:

1. Becauſe the holy Scripture has plainly laid down our duty of Obedience and Non-reſiſtance of the Subordinate, as well as of the Supream Magiſtrate.

Thus much I hinted in the explication of the Text, that when St. *Paul* with ſo much variety of Phraſe directs *Titus* to put the *Cretians* in mind, that *they be Subject to Principalities and Powers, and Obey Magiſtrates*, he cannot in my Judgment be thought to trifle ſo long, and by Principalities, Powers and Magiſtrates, in the Plural number, only intend all that while the perſon of the Emperour. He muſt alſo mean the Subordinate Miniſters in *Crete*. Beſides I cannot conceive that the Apoſtle ſhould intend to admoniſh them of their duty towards the Emperour only, and to have ſo little regard to the Publick Peace, as to permit them upon every diſguſt and grievance, to move Sedition againſt the Pro-prætors or Deputy Governours of that Iſland. But I will not inſiſt upon this conjectural Interpretation, however unqueſtionable it ſeems to me. Yet St. *Peter* is moſt expreſs herein — *Submit your ſelves to the King as Supream, and to Governours as unto them that are ſent by him, i. e.* unto Subordinate Magiſtrates and Judges commiſſion'd by the King. Laſtly, I obſerve St. *Paul* exhorts that *Supplications and Prayers, Interceſſions and Thanksgivings be made* 1 Pet. 2. 13, 14. 1 Tim. 2. 1, 2.

for

for Kings, and for all that are in Authority. Pray for them we muſt, not fight againſt them, which will appear from the reaſon inforcing this Precept.

To this end we are commanded to Pray for them —*that we may live quiet and peaceable lives in all Godlineſs and Honeſty.* But if we ſhould Pray for them and at the ſame time riſe up againſt them, our Actions would contradict our Prayers, we ſhould undo with our hands, what we are bound to interceed for with our Hearts and Lips; we ſhould fruſtrate the deſign of our own Interceſſions: an Hypocriſy as impious in us, as 'twas Ridiculous in that Emperour, who detained the Pope in Priſon, and yet commanded Prayers to be made for his enlargement. The late Writers about Subjection (the more moderate of them, who maintain the People to have a Power of reſiſting only the Subordinate Miniſters of the King, his deſtructive Counſellers and Agents) ſeldom or never take notice of theſe paſſages in the word of God, as far as I have obſerv'd; eſpecially not that of St. *Peter* upon which I lay the greateſt ſtreſs of my argument, and think it unanſwerable. He certainly knew beſt and more exactly weighed our Lords Doctrine, who firſt violated this Evangelical Canon in cutting off *Malchus*'s Ear (the High Prieſts ſervant) and was roundly reprov'd by Chriſt for ſo doing. And why St. *Peters* pretended Succeſſors and their Diſciples ſhould ſo far forget themſelves, as to run into the ſame exceſs, as their firſt Founder did, and yet not, as he did, renounce their error, but ſtand obſtinately in the defence of themſelves, no other reaſon can be given, but their blind Zeal of propagating Religion by the Sword, ſince reaſon and argument and exemplary Lives (which are the moſt powerful and the only Goſpel motives

Charles 5th.

to

to perſwade) having ſo long ſince fail'd them. For my own part I doubt not to affirm, that as the King within his own Dominions is the Image and Repreſentative of God in the Government of the People; ſo are the inferior Magiſtrates the Image and Repreſentatives both of God and the King: that as the Supream Governour is Gods immediate Ordinance, ſo are they, that are ſent by him, the mediate and derivative Ordinance of God. To deal freely with you, I queſtion not that Obedience and Subjection in all its branches, in its utmoſt latitude is due to one as well as t'other: that in caſe of the greateſt outrages committed by them either through neglect, or miſtake, or Paſſion, or private Intereſt or Revenge, or Servile Flattery of the Princes Humour, the Subject ought not to ſeek redreſs but by ſuch Peaceable methods as the Law preſcribes and allows: that in the mean time he ought to abſtain from Violent Defence and Active Reſiſtance. For ſo is the Will of God, that we ſuffer Patiently, that we Honour and Reverence, not Revile, not Libel the Perſons of the Subordinate Governours, ſent or commiſſioned by the King. Let no one think here to avoid the ſtrength of this Scripture argument, by diſtinguiſhing between the Government of an abſolute Arbitrary Prince, ſuch were the Emperours of Old, and a mixt or limited Government, as our's is at this day. This makes no difference, gives the Subject no Priviledge of reſiſting the Kings Miniſters The Power of the Subordinate Magiſtrate, is of the ſame Nature in both theſe Governments, limited in the former by the will of the Emperour, in his publick Edicts, and private Inſtructions; limited in the latter by the known Laws of the Nation, let the Prince be Arbitrary, or not, ſtill his Miniſters are always

limited: though they transgress and depart from their Rule, the People has in neither case Liberty, turbulently to defend themselves, with the breach of the Publick Peace, the preservation whereof is still the Fundamental Principle and Care of every Government, whether Absolute or Limited. For which reason the Subjects in the *Roman* State were directed to appeal unto *Cæsar* as their last refuge, and we in this Nation unto the Kings Supreme Court of Justice as our only remedy against injury; if they fail'd, or we be disappointed of our expectations, we have nothing more to do, than patiently to submit to the Will and Providence of God. This I take to be St. *Peters* Doctrine, and am sure was St. *Pauls* Practice, as is before prov'd; and I lay it down as the first Reason of my resolution of the Question under debate. We must not forcibly resist the inferiour Magistrates, because it is the express Doctrine of the Scripture.

2. Because violently to resist the Kings Instruments Legally commissionated by him, is inconsistent with our Duty to the Person of the King himself. By the Doctrine of the Gospel we are to Love, to Honour the Kings Person, not Libelling Him, not defaming Him. What is the meaning of this? We are not to bring into Question his Abilities, his Justice, his Wisdom, his Vigilance, his Integrity, his Fidelity to his Oaths and Assurances given us of Good and Legal Government.

But he who by Force resists the Kings Officers, Dishonours the Kings Person, and Stains his reputation in all those respects: by his turbulency and sturdy resistance of the Magistrate, he does in effect tell the World, that the King is unable or unwilling to Protect him, resolved to crush and oppress him: He thereby suggests the Higher Power, to be either Fool or Knave,

Knave, or Tyrant, or Perjur'd, under which imputations 'tis diſhonourable for him to Lie. For no man that thinks his Prince able to defend him, will Riotouſly defend himſelf. No one that judges him upright, but will peaceably appeal to him, none that believes him a Man of Honour and Conſcience, will queſtion to be relieved by him, and his Superior Courts of Juſtice. In a word, there can be no reſiſtance, no affront Offer'd to the Kings Miniſters, but tends directly to the Diſhonour of the Kings Perſon. The King has the ſame reaſon to complain of thoſe that Violently perſecute his Miniſters, as God had of the *Iſraelites*, whom nothing would ſatisfy but to have *Samuel* depos'd — *They have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me.* Againſt me principally is this Rebellion and Change of Government deſign'd. Every Indignity caſt upon the Servant, reflects upon the Maſter, and as Naturally and Neceſſarily aſcends unto the Head, the Supreme Governour of the Body Politick, as the pains and anguiſh of a wounded Member ariſes unto the Head of a Natural Body. He that breaks my Bones and bruiſes my Fleſh, and yet tells me he is tender of my Head (the Seat of Senſation) may (if he pleaſe) Value his wit upon the diſtinction, but cannot ſatisfy me thereby for the injury done me. And again as upon pretence of Putrefaction to lop off all the Members one after another, is certain deſtruction both to the Body and the Head, which cannot conſiſt without the Integral parts: ſo they who will never acknowledg the Prince to have any faithful Servants and Counſellors, but are ſtill ready to cut *them* off ſo ſoon as *they* are received into his Favour and Service, whatever kindneſs they make ſhow of to him; yet forcing him to be thus Naked and to ſhift for himſelf, leaving him

1 Sam. 8. 7.

as it were to wander alone *on the Mountains, as a Partridg*, to ſit as *a Pelicane in the Wilderneſs, or as an Owl in the Deſart*, do indeed deſtroy the Government, and by Neceſſary Conſequence murder the Kings Perſon alſo. And if Reaſon will not, I am ſure ſad Experience has once convinc't us of this Truth.

3. To uſe Force againſt the Kings Legal Inſtruments is a Breach of the Publick Peace, Fruſtration of the Chief Ends of Society, the Good of the People, and endangers the Diſſolution of the whole Frame of Government. For without Order and peaceable Subjection, there is nothing but Confuſion and Violence, and perfect Anarchy, our Perſons, our Lives, our Liberties and Properties (when once a Civil War is commenc't) being expos'd to the Dominion and Cruelty, and Avarice of the Revengeful and Succeſsful Conqueror. And becauſe I have made the Preſervation of the Publick Peace, the Ground of much of my Reaſoning in this Diſcourſe, I the rather chooſe here a little to enlarge my ſelf upon that Topick. I ſhall readily grant (if it be demanded) that the Good of the Governed is the firſt Reaſon, and the great End of Government: but the next, and in order to it is the Publick Peace, which is the very Life and Soul of Government, and abſolutely neceſſary to the Peoples, both *Private* and *Political* Happineſs. As therefore 'tis the *Princes* Office by any means to ſecure it, ſo it is the Subjects Duty and Intereſt to keep it, tho with the loſs of their private perſonal Concernments. *Peace* is an unvaluable Bleſſing, like that rich Jewell in the Goſpel, 'tis Worth our while to ſell all we have for the purchaſe of it. I have ſeldom read (nor does it often happen,) that the Subjects Circumſtances were ſo hard, their Condition ſo miſerable, where 'twas worth their

their while to hazard their Lives and Fortunes by Civil Diſcord.

Pax bello potior ſeems to be a Rule almoſt without Exception: But that other *ex bello pax* is a Motto fit only for Traitors and Uſurpers to ſtamp upon their Medals. Let any underſtanding Man ſit down, and with himſelf calmly conſider, how eaſy it is, (when once the Sacred Bonds of Civil Peace are broke) for a forraign Enemy to invade and enſlave the Nation; what Devaſtations are made, what Detriment ſuſtain'd in private Eſtates, how much Time and Expenſe of Treaſure is required before any tolerable Settlement can be made; how eaſy 'tis for the Conqueror to ſet up a Tyrannical and Arbitrary Government, which is oft-times the Iſſue of Domeſtick Wars; at leaſt, how ſtrangely the Government is weakened, how univerſally the People are debauch't, how difficult 'tis for them to recover both their Publick and Private Loſſes. Where is that wiſe Man, and indued with Knowledge? Let him tell me, whether 'tis not much better, more Honorable and Heroick to flying over Board all his Subſtance, yea and ſuffer himſelf, with *Jonah* to be caſt into the Sea, for the Preſervation of his Fellow-citizens, rather than the Ship of the Common-wealth ſhould ſink in the Waves of Popular Inſurrections.

The Safety therefore of the Government and of the Governours, and the Good of the Governed being thus cloſely twiſted with the Publick Peace, they who take upon them violently to reſiſt and engage the People in Rebellion, do by conſequence overthrow the Ends of Society, and reduce us into that Condition, (which ſome Men call the State of Nature,) wherein every Man having a *General Right to every thing*, but *a Particular Right to nothing*, we fight and devour one another

another. And which is the worſt of all, when we are weary of our Diſſenſions, and an End is put to the Quarrel, the Iſſue is ſeldom to the Advantage of the Subject. We may alter the Government, but for the Worſe: we may change our Maſters, but not eaſe our Shoulders from thoſe Grievances, we formerly groan'd under. 'Tis eaſy to fore-ſee theſe Inconveniencies by the Eye of Reaſon; and Experience, which is the Miſtreſs of Fools, will abundantly convince us of them. But,

4. Becauſe, when ever we Preachers inforce this Doctrine from the practice of Holy Men recorded in Scripture, or other Inſtances out of Profane or Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, ſtill the Diverſity of Government is alledged as a ſufficient Bar to the Force of the Argument. I ſhall in the laſt Place make good my Concluſion from the expreſs Statute Law of the Land. And whereas I could produce ſeveral Acts of Parliament to this purpoſe, yet Chooſing rather to keep my ſelf within Compaſs, within my own Sphere, being unwilling to ſeem too pert and buſy in other Mens Province, I ſhall not give my ſelf the Trouble to examine *Cook* and other Learned Digeſters of our Laws, nor to ſearch the Rolls in the *Tower*: Yet I hope I may be allowed to take my own Book into my Hand without Offence, and put you in Remembrance of that Declaration and Acknowledgement, which I have more than once made. You may meet with it in that Publick Act prefixt before the Liturgy in theſe Words— *I do declare that it is not Lawful upon any Pretence, whatever to take Arms againſt the King, and that I do abhor that Traiterous Poſition of Taking up Arms by his Authority againſt his Perſon, or againſt thoſe that are Commiſſionated by him.* So that to take up Arms, to reſiſt the Kings Miniſters

niſters, and Officers having his Commiſſion, is Treaſon; To maintain the Legality of it is traiterous, and to be abhorred. And hence you ſee that 'twas no Crime, nor Scandal in ſixty two to be an Abhorrer, even in the Judgment of the Wiſdom of the whole Nation. If I ſhould be told, that this Declaration was intended only for the Clergy and School-Maſters to ſubſcribe, I ſhall acknowledge that True: but muſt by the way obſerve, what Opinion our Law-givers then had of thoſe who would be thought the only Preachers of Chriſt and him Crucifyed, but it ſeems were ſuſpected as the vileſt Diſturbers of the Government, and moſt dangerous Incendiaries of the Common-wealth. And ſince ſo great Truſt is repoſed in thoſe who take upon them theſe Employments, ſince they have Opportunity (if they will) to debauch the Underſtandings of their Diſciples, our Law-givers judged it neceſſary to oblige them to that Declaration, and only to admit ſuch, of whoſe Fidelity to the Peace of the Nation they were aſſured, and of whoſe indeavours of inſtilling no turbulent and treaſonable Principles into the Ears and Minds of the People they were competently ſecure. However tho the Clergy and School-Maſters only are obliged unto that Acknowledgement; yet if the Taking up Arms againſt thoſe that are Commiſſionated by the King is to be abhorred by us, and is in its ſelf traiterous, then certainly no Subjects ought to reſiſt the Kings Miniſters: the Poſition of its Lawfulneſs being Traiterous, the Execution thereof can be no leſs then Treaſon. But that the People may Lawfully and Conſcientiouſly commit Treaſon, is a Solæciſm in Government as well as Hereſy in Divinity. Hence the Phanſie of the Author of that Book, entituled *A Treatiſe of Monarchy*, is plainly confuted, who argues tho

tho not for a Legal Power expreſt in the Political Contract, yet for a Moral, Natural Tranſcendent Power (implyed in all Conſtitutions) for the People to reſiſt the Kings Miniſters and Deſtructive Inſtruments. To aſſert this Lawful upon any pretence, whatever is you ſee traiterous, the enterprice is therefore Treaſon, ſtrictly and expreſly provided againſt by the Law of the Land. So much for the Reaſons of my Anſwer to this Queſtion.

And thus I have ſaid, (as breifly, as I could) what I thought fit upon this Argument, expecting now to be anſwered in the Words of the Diſciples——*This is an hard Saying, who can hear it?* What? may we not defend our ſelves againſt Manifeſt Injury, againſt Unſupportable Oppreſſion, when all other Reſief is denied us, when there is no other Way left to avoid the Miſeries of Tyranny and Slavery? If this be our Caſe, who are Chriſtians (as you have ſtated it,) then farewell all our Temporal Intereſts, we are then the moſt wretched People in the World. With what eaſe than may ambitious Men and corrupt Magiſtrates trample on us? Where is the Law of Nature, that Great, that Royal Law of ſelf Preſervation? In Anſwer hereunto, I ſhall readily grant, that 'tis an hard Chapter, not eaſily read or believed, not willingly digeſted by Fleſh and Blood. 'Tis one of thoſe high and difficult Points, which I do not expect ſhould take Root in the Heart of every Half-thick Chriſtian and temporary Believer. Either the wicked one Will catch away this Seed ſown, or Perſecution, or the Cares of this Life, or the Deceitfulneſs of Riches, or the Love of themſelves and of this World will choke it. But I would deſire Men of Underſtanding and Integrity (for that ſuch only I can hope to prevail,) to recollect my Reaſons;

reasons; and moreover to consider with themselves, how that there are many other strict Precepts laid upon us by our blessed Lord, no less difficult in themselves, and altogether as repugnant to the Law of Nature Self preservation. How often, how peremptorily are we commanded in general *to crucifie our selves to the world, and the world to us? to mortifie our earthly members*, to moderate our selves in the desire and fruition even of such things which nature prompts us to, and allows us; *to vanquish our Passions, which*, as the Wise man tells us, *is a more heroick atchievement than to conquer a City.* Prov. 16. 32. How frequently are we directed to lay aside those inclinations, which Nature and the God of Nature has implanted in us, to subdue those appetites which our natural temper inclines us to, which Interest, Self love, and Self preservation dictates to us? What a paradox is it the Natural man, yea to many Pretenders unto strict Holiness to hear, that by the Doctrine of God our Saviour, they must not *render evil for evil, nor railing for railing, but contrariwise blessing?* 1 Pet. 3. 9. That they must not be their own Judges, nor *revenge their own quarrels*; that being the prerogative of God, and is only communicated to our earthly Governours? Rom. 12. 19. What will these men say or think, when I shall put them in mind of that restraint God has laid on us all, how he has limited the Natural Law of preserving our selves? When I shall repeat those excellent Sayings of Christ and his Apostles; *If thine Enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink.* Ver. 20. *Love your Enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you?* Matth. 5. 44. What can the Troublers of our *Israel* answer, if I help them to remember the prudent Caution of the Apostle, of *abstaining from all appearance of evil*; 1 Thes. 5. 22. those admirable Pas-

sages, that *'tis better to suffer for well-doing than for evil-doing: Why do you not rather take wrong? To him that smites thee on the right cheek turn the other also?* When and where (I pray) and in what Relation are these Gospel Precepts applicable to us, if not in our Political State? And is it not much more reason, that we avoid appearance of evil, and offences towards our Superiors and Rulers, than towards one another? To suffer patiently from the Civil Magistrate, to take wrong from the Kings Ministers rather than from our equals and Fellow Subjects? I can never enough admire the confidence of some men, who are not asham'd to ascribe the preservation of Gospel Holiness solely to the Dissenters amongst us; whereas I cannot discern the Spirit of the Gospel among them at all. Where almost will you find that Modesty, Humility, Peaceableness, Gentleness, easiness to be Intreated, Moderaton, Obedience, Condescention (I shall for once on this occasion call it so) unto Governours which are required in the Scriptures, and are reckon'd up as the fruits of the Spirit? I would once again here ask, Why may not our Religion be suppos'd to restrain and interpret the general Law of Nature Self preservation, in the point of Subjection and Non-resistance of Authority, as well as in the case of private Revenge? Why should we not be thought oblig'd to cut off one of *our hands, or feet,* and *to pluck out our right eyes* (those darling, usefull and necessary Members) for the sake of Publick Peace, as well as to avoid Private Offences.

1 Pet. 3. 17.
1 Cor. 6. 7.
Matth. 5. 39.
Plat. Red.
Matth. 5. 29.

It is no small argument to me of the Wisdom and Goodness of God in setting his stamp and approbation upon the precept of Subjection; that to our own personal Contracts he has superadded an immediate tye of Conscience in the Revelation of his Will: That God, who

who beſt knows our Hearts, the frowardneſs of our Wills, the violence of our Paſſions, the ſtubborneſs of our Affections, what Lovers of our ſelves we naturally are, what partial Judgers of our own Rights and Intereſts, has therefore thought good to incloſe that Law of Nature Self preſervation, allowing it unto us in no caſe to the breach or hazard of the publick Peace of the Commonwealth. And if I may not defend my ſelf againſt the injuries of my private Brother and Fellow Citizen, but as the Law and the Peace of the State permits, how ſhall I challenge that Liberty in a violent and tumultuous reſiſtance of the Civil Magiſtrate? God, who is a God of Order and not of Confuſion, has himſelf ſo diſpos'd and methodiz'd the Polities and earthly Governments of men, as that 'tis impoſſible (if we would Conſcienciouſly attend our duty) that Wars, and Fightings, and cutting of Throats ſhould in any wiſe be juſtifiable. If ſo, then Government is defective and in effect diſſolv'd; then is not Magiſtracy the Ordinance of God, but at the Will of the People, and alterable at their pleaſure, when ever they think fit to quarrel at the Princes conduct, or at his Miniſters pretended outrages and encroachments. For where every one may do what is right in his own eyes, that State which admits the Subject in any caſe whatever to call the Rulers to account, to puniſh or to dethrone them, or to make any violent changes in the Commonwealth, there is no Government at all among them, but Anarchy and Confuſion, and every evil work. But

To draw to a Concluſion, theſe Diſcourſes (I confeſs) adminiſter but cold Comfort to the greateſt part of men, who (like Beaſts) live by Senſe and not by Reaſon, are led by an exceſſive Love of themſelves,

more than by the Will of God, and the publick good of Societies. What Security in the mean while (ſay they) have we of our Liberties and Properties, of enjoying in any tolerable meaſure the labour of our own hands, and of tranſmitting the benefit thereof to poſterity? I anſwer, You have all the Security this uncertain world can afford. You have the Almighty God taking care of you, *in whoſe hands are the Spirit of Princes, and he will reſtrain them.* His word and promiſe is engaged. *His hands are not ſhort that they cannot ſave, neither are his ears heavy that they cannot hear.* You have his Almighty Power to rely on, his Unſearchable Wiſdom to depend on, his Infinite Goodneſs to ſhelter you, his Truth and Faithfulneſs to truſt in, and the eyes of his Providence continually watching over you. You have the conſideration of the natural frailty of your earthly Governours to comfort and to uphold you. Though *they are Gods*, bearing the image of God in the Political Government, yet *are they but* meer moral *men, whoſe breath is in their Noſtrils; they muſt die like men, and fall like Princes.* Look, how dieth the greateſt Potentate? even as the meaneſt Subject. There will be no difference between you and them at the Great day, the day of Judgment. They muſt (then at leaſt whatever privilege they claim in this life) give an account at the Tribunal of God, where there will be no reſpect of perſons, where there Cruelty and Tyranny (if they are guilty of any) and all their Kingcraft and Myſteries of State will be diſclos'd, and muſt be anſwer'd. The dread and expectation of which laſt Aſſizes will in a great meaſure check their exorbitances, and put ſuch manicles on their hands, that ofttimes *the things they would they*

Pſal. 76. 12.

Pſal. 82. 7.

cannot

cannot do; and what they would not, even that they do against their wills.

Yet further, you have the conſideration of the ſturdineſs of many ill principled Subjects among you, who (though not to be juſtified yet) are as a bullwark to the peaceable and conſcientious. There is a ſhrew'd Proverb among us, Oppreſſion will make a Wiſe man mad, much more the Wicked and the Rebellious. In the utmoſt extremities, there will riſe up men (not ſtrictly conſcientious, but) of undaunted natural ſpirit and courage, that will not ſtick to break through all the bonds of Duty and Obedience, and with the hazard of their Lives and Fortunes endeavour to redreſs intolerable Grievances. And thus their Sin through the righteous Judgment of God may prove the ſecurity. But why do I mention theſe things? I ſee no neceſſity of this Diſcourſe. I know not wherefore we ſhould entertain ſuch odd ſuſpicions of our Magiſtrates, as to ſupport our ſelves with the probability of their diſaſters. Let us be more juſt and charitable towards them, accounting of them as men of Honour and Honeſty as well as our ſelves; that know their duty, and will laudably diſcharge it out of a principle of Conſcience. They cannot be ignorant of this one thing, that the end of Government and the meaſure of their Power is the good of the People. There is likewiſe the Oath of God upon them, that they will Govern according to Law. And what other aſſurance would any man wiſh for? 'Tis more I am ſure than many among us will give for *their* peaceable demeanour. He that is not content herewith 'tis impoſſible to ſatisfie him, except by delivering up the reigns of Government into his hand, and then the Subject can ſtill have no better ſecurity than an Oath. An Oath is the end of all

ſtrife

ſtrife among men, and 'tis the higheſt Aſſurance God has or can give us of the righteouſneſs of his Government and Providence. He that thinks not this ſufficient is not fit to live in this world, unworthy to enjoy the Society of men, and the benefit of Government. Beſides, it is the Intereſt of Governours that the Subjects Rights and Properties be maintain'd, that they ſhould be ſecur'd and encourag'd in their Labours, and reap the fruit of their Induſtry and Improvements, the Riches of the People being the Glory, the Strength, and the Riches of the Prince; and therefore if Conſcience will not, yet at leaſt his Intereſt will incline him unto moderation in the exerciſe of Dominion. I ſhall yet farther add, that you have the Security of your Fellow Subjects, ſuch I mean as are wiſe and conſcientious, that will not be deſtructive inſtruments, nor actively aſſiſt in oppreſſing the people contrary to Law. As for others, Fear will in ſome meaſure check many of them, and the Law of the Land will curb them. The crys of the afflicted Subjects will at length reach the ears of the Prince, and neceſſity of State will prevail with him to deliver up his evil Counſellors as a ſacrifice to the peoples diſcontents. Yea (as the caſe now ſtands with us) the Kings Officers, though commiſſionated by him being puniſhable by Law, as I take it, for their illegal proceedings, there is little ground to fear, 'tis hardly poſſible any barbarous or unſupportable miſchief ſhould ariſe in our Government; and the moſt that can in likelihood happen, will be much more eligible than the breach of the publick Peace, and the violent overthrow of the preſent Eſtabliſhment.

Finally, my Brethren, give me leave to add; count me not a flatterer if I ſpeak it out of the reach of his

Sacred

Sacred Ears, when I conſider the perſon of our preſent Prince, the ſweetneſs of his Nature, our long experience of the mildneſs of his Government, the bleſſings of Peace, plenty and increaſe of Trade, which we have long enjoy'd under him: When I recollect how ſtrictly and impartially righteouſneſs and juſtice is executed among us, he ſeldom or never obſtructing the courſe of the Law; except it be in extending his mercy and pardon to unfortunate Criminals, which is the heighth and pride of his good nature; and wherein he may be ſaid truly to reſemble God himſelf. But otherwiſe let me ask you, whoſe Ox has he taken, whoſe Aſs has he ſeiz'd, who has he Defrauded or Oppreſſed, whoſe Life, whoſe Property has he invaded, whoſe Liberty has he illegally or unreaſonably reſtrain'd in Priſon, or in Exile? When I remember his Charity in forgiving us, his Readineſs to oblige us, the freſh aſſurances we have of his Governing by Law; when I here of foreign Princes admiring his Wiſdom, and courting his Friendſhip, as much perhaps as *Sheba* did *Solomons*; when I ſee the miſerable and afflicted Subjects of other Nations ſeeking and finding ſhelter under his wings; when I read thoſe but juſt thanks and commendations they return him, whilſt they admire the prudence and moderation of his Conduct, the protection and quietneſs we our ſelves receive from him: Yea, when in a Seditious Author, I met with this Teſtimony of his Royal Grace and goodneſs, —— *That he never made uſe of his Negative Voice, or denied his Aſſent but to one publick Act only*: And whereas one of the worſt of his Enemies has allow'd him this Character, *That he is a Prince under whoſe diſpleaſure his adverſaries fall gently.* In fine, ſince I cannot but behold and admire his Wiſdom in the

the choice of the subordinate Magistrates, whose Piety, Learning and Integrity is conspicuous amongst us, I cannot forbear, not only out of duty to the Divine Ordinance, but in gratitude and thankfulness to God and the King, acknowledge our present happiness and security: Not only put you in mind to be subject to Principalities and Powers, and to obey Magistrates; but also offer up my Prayers to God, —— *That he would grant the King a long Life and abundance of Tears, at home Peace, and Victory abroad, a Loyal Senate, and a faithful People, a quiet World, and a secure Reign: And in fine, that God would inspire us all with such a measure of his Grace, that by our patience, peaceableness and chearful subjection, our present happiness may be continued still longer unto us under his Government, and his Successours that shall come after him; that we and the Ages to come may lead quiet and peaceable Lives, in all godliness and honesty.*

AMEN.